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INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION: CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND PHYSICAL STRUCTURE OF ROSSDALE

by

JOSEPH H. RYAN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Earth and Atmospheric Sciences

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring, 1996

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D B Johnson

P J Smith

W. W. McVey

Date: April 15, 1996

ABSTRACT

This study examines changes in the physical and socio-economic characteristics of Rossdale, an inner-city river valley neighbourhood in Edmonton. The decline in Edmonton's river valley neighbourhoods was accelerated by some 20 years of public policy designed to convert residential land to parkland.

The research method involved the creation and application of indicators, based on revitalization theory, of neighbourhood change for the 1981 and 1992 time period. It was found that redevelopment was the major physical process operating in Rossdale. This redevelopment was strongly influenced by the severe state of housing deterioration caused by some 20 years of public and private disinvestment. In terms of social characteristics, the neighbourhood changed from a blue collar to a high socio-economic status area. This supports the notion that a form of gentrification was the major process associated with this revitalization.

This study emphasizes the need to reconsider conventional concepts of revitalization. The strict definition of gentrification had to be relaxed to accommodate Rossdale's cycle of decline and revitalization. Future research would benefit by consideration of public policy as a major influence on the Revitalization process.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER **Page**

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background 1
1.1 Purpose of the Thesis 2
1.2 Objectives and Scope of the Thesis 2
1.3 The Study Area: Location, Size and Historical Significance 3
1.4 Summary of the Thesis Structure 6

2. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM, LITERATURE REVIEW, AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction 8
2.1 Succession Theory 9
2.2 Andrews' Land Use Development Cycle 10
2.3 Concept of Planning Blight 11
2.3.1 Planning Blight in Rossdale: Edmonton's Parkland Acquisition Policy 15
2.4 Factors Influencing the Decision to Amend Edmonton's Parkland Acquisition Policy to Include Residential Land Use in Rossdale 18
2.5 Rossdale's 1986 Area Redevelopment Plan 21
2.5.1 Change in Land Use Districting 27
2.6 The Urban Renewal Experience of the 1950s and 1960s 32
2.7 Inner-City Neighbourhood Revitalization 34
2.7.1 Gentrification and Incumbent Upgrading 34
2.7.2 Gentrification: Life-Cycle and Lifestyle Locational Considerations 40
2.8 Summary 42

3. RESEARCH METHODS

3.0 Research Methods 43
3.1 Discussion of Data Sources 44

4. ANALYSIS OF ROSSDALE'S PHYSICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES: 1981 - 1992

4.0 Introduction 49
4.1 Change in Rossdale's Physical Structure 49
4.1.1 Infrastructure and Public Area Improvements 50
4.1.3 Change in Land-Use Pattern 50
4.2 Population Change 61
4.2.1 Change in Rossdale's Age Composition 61
4.2.2 Change in Household Type 63
4.2.3 Change in Residential Mobility 64
4.3 Resident Home Ownership Change and Land and Housing Cost Increase 65
4.4 Social Status Change 67
4.5 Recent Movers Participating in Rossdale's Gentrification 70
4.5.1 Age and Social Status of Rossdale's Gentrifiers 71
4.5.2 Life Cycle & Lifestyle Considerations of Recent Movers to Rossdale 73
4.6 Summary 76

5. CONCLUSION

5.0 Summary and Review of Thesis Objectives 78
5.1 Conclusions and Future Research Objectives 79

BIBLIOGRAPHY 81

APPENDIX 1 87

APPENDIX 2 89

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
Table 1.	Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan Three Year Implementation Budget	26
Table 2.	Gentrification and Incumbent Upgrading: Physical and Socio-Economic Indicators	36
Table 3.	Changes in Residence Related to Changes in Adult Life Cycle	41
Table 4.	Rossdale's Population Distribution by Age Groups: 1981, 1986, 1991; and City of Edmonton's Population Distribution by Age Groups: 1992	62
Table 5.	Rossdale's Household Types: 1983, 1987, 1990 and 1992	64
Table 6.	Rossdale's Population Residential Mobility Patterns: 1983, 1987, 1990 and 1992; and City of Edmonton's Population Residential Mobility Pattern: 1992	65
Table 7.	Rossdale's Residential Occupancy: Owners/Renters: 1983, 1987, 1990 and 1992; and City of Edmonton Residential Occupancy: Owners/Renters 1992	66
Table 8.	Rossdale Tender Summary of City Owned Properties: 1988-1991	67
Table 9.	Rossdale's Occupational Structure: 1986, 1991 and 1992; and City of Edmonton Occupational Structure: 1991	68
Table 10.	Highest Level of Education Attained by Total Population 15 years and older in Rossdale: 1986, 1991, and 1992; and City of Edmonton 1991	70
Table 11.	Age Structure of Rossdale's Marginal and Full-Gentrifiers: 1992	72
Table 12.	Social Status of Rossdale's Marginal and Full-Gentrifies: 1992	72
Table 13.	Gentrifier Household Types in Rossdale: 1992	74
Table 14.	Reasons Stated by Gentrifiers as being Important or Very Important in Their Location Choice: Rossdale Survey 1992	75
Table 15.	Migration Patterns of Gentrifier Households in Rossdale: Rossdale Survey 1992	76

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure **Page**

Figure 1 Rossdale's Location in Edmonton's Inner-City 4
Figure 2 Study Area: Rossdale Neighbourhood 5
Figure 3 Rossdale's Historic Sites 7
Figure 4 Andrews' Land Use Development Life Cycle Model 11
Figure 5 Rossdale's Sub Area Boundaries 17
Figure 6 Rossdale's Land Disposal and Acquisition 27
Figure 7 Rossdale's Land Use Districts - 1985 Prior to Revitalization 29
Figure 8 Rossdale's Land Use Districts - 1985 Area Redevelopment Plan 30
Figure 9 Rossdale's Field Survey Housing Conditions: March 1992 47
Figure 10 Rossdale's Land Use 1987 54
Figure 11 Rossdale's Land Use 1992 55
Figure 12 Evidence of Redevelopment and Infill Housing in Rossdale: 1992 .. 57

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Photograph		Page
Photograph 1.	Example of Rossdale's Older Housing Stock	19
Photograph 2.	Rossdale's Main Entrance: Example of Streetscape and infrastructure improvements including new curbs, new sidewalks, brick and iron gates and park benches	51
Photograph 3.	Residential Street: Other streetscape Improvements including new sidewalks, planted trees, and old fashioned street lamps	51
Photograph 4.	Park and Recreation Beautification Project: A Rossdale View Point	52
Photograph 5.	Park and Recreation Beautification Project: River Valley View Point in Rossdale	52
Photograph 6.	Capital City Park Improvements	53
Photograph 7.	Rossdale's New Housing Stock: Note Distinct Architectural style	58
Photograph 8.	Example of Restoration to Existing Housing Stock	58
Photograph 9.	New Multiple Unit Development in South Rossdale	60
Photograph 10.	New Multiple Unit Development in North Rossdale	60

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

1.0 Background

"The inner-city is the one sector of the city that is most identified with change, very often change of a controversial nature" (Bunting and Filion, 1988, p.1). Most accounts of inner-city neighbourhood change typically describe conditions of physical, social, and economic decline. Inner city neighbourhoods suffer from ageing-related problems which are exacerbated by disinvestment decisions, both private and public. Many inner-city neighbourhoods, including those originally occupied by blue collar workers, increasingly became home to lower income earners and the unemployed (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). Post-war housing consumption patterns heightened the problem by diverting private, public, and institutional investment from the inner city to suburbia. However, in the last two decades, some North American inner-city neighbourhoods have experienced a resurgence of development. While cities continue to sprawl, a significant segment of recent housing patterns signal a greater emphasis on the preservation, rehabilitation, and overall revitalization of inner-city neighbourhoods (Ley, 1988; Bunting and Filion, 1988).

This thesis focuses on Rossdale, an Edmonton inner-city river valley neighbourhood that is being revitalized after a period of physical and economic decay. Specifically, the study attempts to identify and describe the revitalization processes at work and their effects on this neighbourhood. What sets this study apart from most works on inner-city revitalization is that Rossdale is a highly unusual case of neighbourhood decline and subsequent recovery. Rossdale endured planning blight, physical and economic decline strongly influenced by public policy. But what makes Rossdale's case unusual is that planning policy was aimed at changing the neighbourhood's land use from residential to parkland. Most cases of planning blight are the result of policy either to intensify land uses and increase densities, or to guard against incompatible land uses, such as eliminating residential land use in areas zoned for industry. The policy affecting Rossdale resulted in much of the neighbourhood's residential land being acquired by the City of Edmonton and cleared for parkland purposes. This policy also prohibited building permits from being issued for private home renovations or for new housing development; consequently, Rossdale's surviving housing stock suffered from years of neglect.

During the 1970s and early 1980s protest emerged from citizens opposed to the river valley parkland acquisition policy. In 1983 they were effective in influencing a newly-elected City of Edmonton Council to amend the parkland acquisition policy to allow some residential land use. As a result in 1986 the City of Edmonton passed the Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan (City of Edmonton, 1986a). The plan called for major capital improvements to Rossdale in efforts to stimulate private sector residential revitalization. In response to this change of policy, Rossdale began a process of revitalization, the particular form of which was due in large part to the neighbourhood's

blighted physical condition, which was itself a consequence of the City's parkland acquisition policy.

1.1 Purpose of the Thesis

Although inner city revitalization has been well documented, Bunting and Phipps (1988), Dantas (1988), and Ley (1988) state that more research, particularly on Canadian cities, is needed to explain the processes involved in this type of neighbourhood change. Of particular interest to urban geographers are the socio-economic and physical changes associated with inner city revitalization. To this end, most research has focused on one of two specific sub-processes. The first, gentrification, involves improvements to the existing housing stock by the settlement of middle- and upper-class households in the inner city; the second, incumbent upgrading, involves the restoration of the existing housing stock by long term residents (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975; Bunting and Filion, 1988; Clay, 1979; Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981; Ley, 1988; Palen and London, 1984; Rosenthal, 1980). However, some researchers have questioned whether the gentrification-incumbent upgrading dichotomy is adequate to explain all cases of inner city revitalization. For example, Ley (1987, 1991, and 1992), Bunting and Phipps (1988), and Dantas (1988) argue that there are other styles of inner city revitalization that are not envisaged by conventional accounts.

Whatever the processes involved, inner city revitalization reverses neighbourhood decline and puts new life into cities (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). Although each instance of inner city revitalization is unique, identifying and measuring the change to the revitalizing neighbourhood's physical and socio-economic structure enables researchers to more accurately describe and classify the type of revitalization activity, as well as the participants involved. The purpose of this thesis is to gain a greater understanding of the patterns and processes involved in inner city neighbourhood revitalization as revealed by Rossdale's revitalization.

1.2 Objectives and Scope of the Thesis

Rossdale was chosen for this study for two reasons: first, the neighbourhood had experienced significant changes to its housing stock and infrastructure since the implementation of the Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan in 1986; and second, the particular form and intensity of Rossdale's revitalization was in stark contrast to the level of deterioration and decay caused by planning blight. The specific objectives of this thesis are to identify the extent of change in Rossdale's physical and socio-economic structure, and to interpret these changes in light of revitalization theory.

The main scope of this thesis is limited to socio-economic and physical changes that occurred in the Rossdale neighbourhood between 1981 and 1992. Since federal and civic census materials are not identical, and are not always published in the same year, the data analysis is not applied to exactly the same years for every indicator of neighbourhood change examined. Nonetheless, the first objective is addressed through the analysis of federal and civic censuses, other government documents, and from a questionnaire survey administered in December 1992. The 1992 questionnaire survey was

also used to determine the socio-economic status of those who moved to Rossdale between 1976 and 1986. The second objective is addressed by interpreting the results of the data analysis against relevant literature on inner city revitalization.

1.3 The Study Area: Location, Size, and Historical Significance

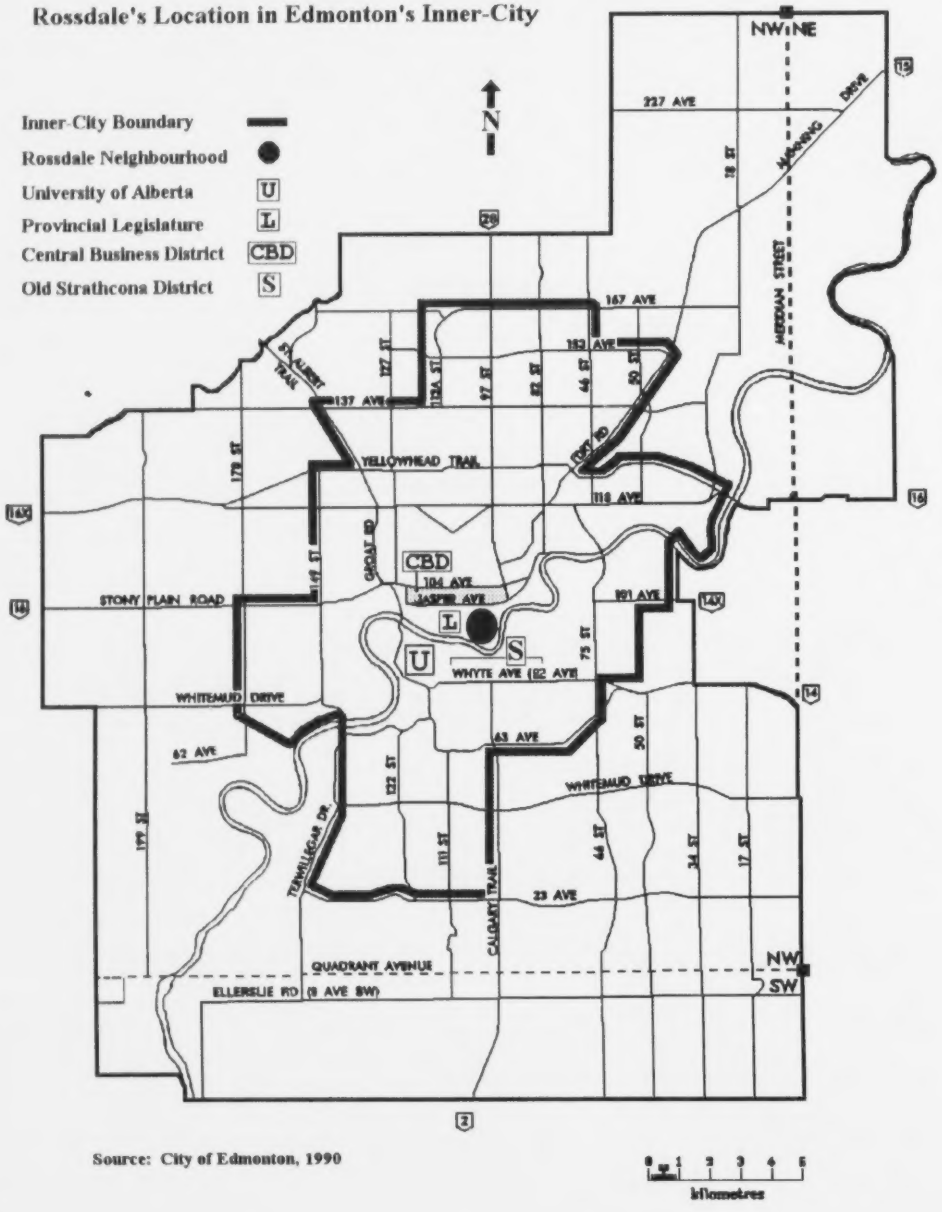
The inner city generally describes the residential areas around the central business district (Gertler and Crowley, 1977; Ley, 1991 and 1992). Various methods have been used to classify the inner city, all of which to a large extent are arbitrarily derived (Ley, 1991). For the purpose of this study Edmonton's inner city, as shown in Figure 1, is defined according to the 1990 Edmonton General Municipal Plan (City of Edmonton, 1990c). Rossdale is an inner city neighbourhood separated from Edmonton's central business district by the north escarpment of the North Saskatchewan river valley. From its north boundary (Figure 2) Rossdale is approximately 4 blocks from downtown Edmonton. Its close proximity to Edmonton's downtown core offers convenient access to employment, amenities such as arts and entertainment, as well as other services and economic activities associated with a metropolitan central business district. Rossdale's central location also provides convenient access to the University of Alberta and the University of Alberta Hospital (labelled 'U' on Figure 1), the Provincial Legislature Building (labelled 'L' on Figure 1), and to Edmonton's well known Old Strathcona shopping district (labelled 'S' on Figure 1). In addition to the advantages of a central location, Rossdale is situated in the valley of the North Saskatchewan River, claimed by many to be Edmonton's greatest environmental amenity (Bedford, 1976; Rossdale Community League, 1982).

The study area boundaries, shown on Figure 2, are: 106 Street on the west, 99 Avenue and Bellamy Hill Road on the north, and the North Saskatchewan River on the south and east. Because of the permanent nature of these physical boundaries, Rossdale's total land area has remained small at 51.6 hectares (City of Edmonton, 1990b) compared with 112 hectares (Johnson, 1996), the average land area of an Edmonton inner city neighbourhood in 1992. Therefore it is not surprising that in 1990 Rossdale's population of 561 (City of Edmonton, 1990b) fell well below the 1992 average of 3,159 for Edmonton inner city neighbourhoods (Johnson, 1996).

Accounts of inner city revitalization reveal that areas undergoing renewal may contain some measure of historical significance to their host city (Rosenthal, 1980; Ley, 1991). This is particularly true in the case of Rossdale. Edmonton's river valley with its abundance of water, timber and wildlife, has attracted settlement for several thousand years (March, 1985). In the Nineteenth Century the area's fur trade attracted European settlers; "Edmonton was born in 1802, when two fur trading posts (Fort Edmonton and Fort Augustus) were built in the river flats near the present Rossdale Generating Station" (City of Edmonton, 1986b, p. 4). Fort Edmonton was a centre for fur trading throughout the Nineteenth Century. In the 1870's, Donald Ross, originally a prospector, "acquired seventy acres of land in the river flats from the Hudson's Bay and built the first residence outside the confines of Fort Edmonton" (Rossdale Community League, 1982, p.3). Before long, Ross converted his home into the Edmonton Hotel which served the needs of

FIGURE 1

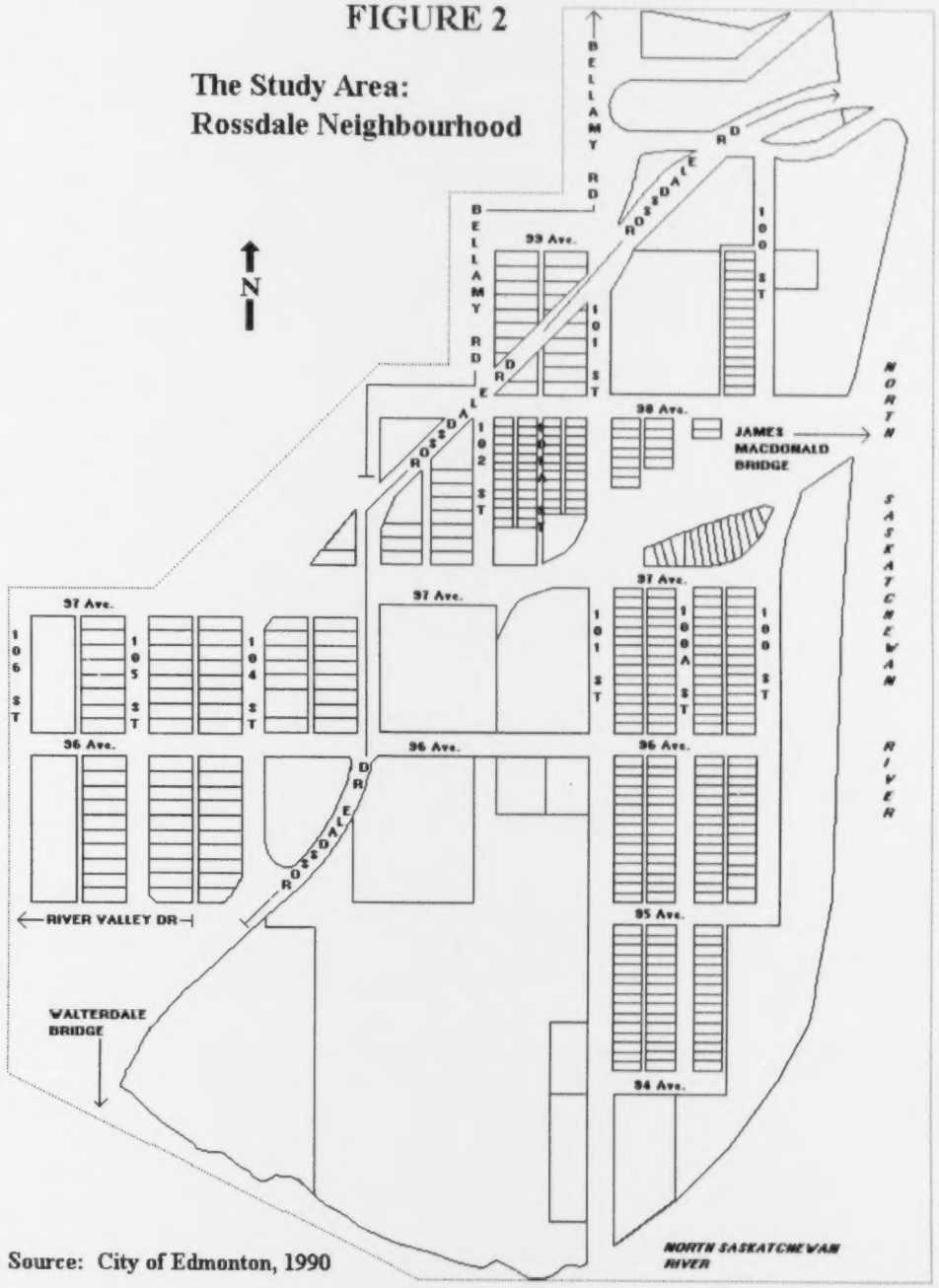
Rossdale's Location in Edmonton's Inner-City



Source: City of Edmonton, 1990

FIGURE 2

The Study Area: Rossdale Neighbourhood



Source: City of Edmonton, 1990

many travellers and miners. As the number of settlers grew, the need to supply provisions and services increased. As a result of the increased economic activity "Ross Flats (Rossdale) became the site of many of Edmonton's first industries" (Rossdale Community League, 1982, p.43). Figure 3 illustrates Rossdale's early industries as well as other historical sites of interest.

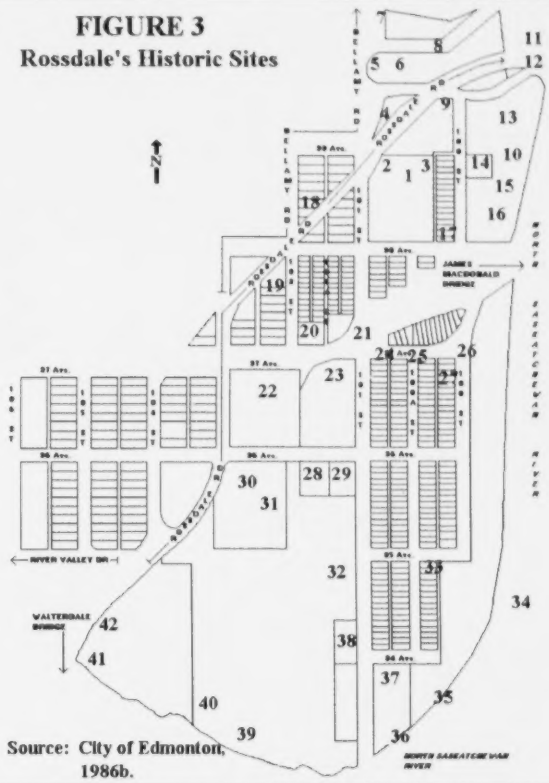
Rossdale also became one of Edmonton's key recreational and entertainment areas. For example North Rossdale's "Diamond Park was for many years the site of Edmonton sporting events that included baseball, soccer and football" (City of Edmonton, 1987, p.2). The Exhibition Grounds also attracted many people from Edmonton and surrounding areas seeking recreation, leisure and cultural exchange. In 1933, the exhibition grounds became Renfrew Ball Park, home of Edmonton's baseball team and other sporting events.

Rossdale's heritage is a significant part of Edmonton's history. The area contained one of the City's first residential communities and supported a great deal of Edmonton's initial social, economic, and industrial activities. Historical significance is an attribute commonly found among neighbourhoods experiencing inner city revitalization.

1.4 Summary of the Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 reviews pertinent literature, beginning with a discussion of relevant theories of neighbourhood change. Next, the concept of planning blight is presented as a condition which advances neighbourhood decline and deterioration. Included in this discussion is a review of the policy that restricted Rossdale's development and accelerated its decline. Then, Canada's urban renewal program of the 1950s and 1960s is examined followed by a review of revitalization theory. Here, incumbent upgrading and a broadened definition of gentrification are identified as the principal components of neighbourhood revitalization. Chapter 3 outlines the data sources used and the research methods employed. The study's objectives are realized in Chapter 4, which analyzes and interprets the data collected to measure changes in Rossdale's socio-economic components of neighbourhood revitalization. Chapter 3 outlines the data sources used and the research methodology employed. The study's objectives are realized in Chapter 4, which analyzes and interprets the data collected to measure changes in Rossdale's socio-economic character and physical structure. Indicators of neighbourhood revitalization, as identified in the conceptual framework, are used in the analysis. The summary of these findings, conclusions, and suggestions for future research are addressed in Chapter 5.

FIGURE 3
Rossdale's Historic Sites



Source: City of Edmonton, 1986b.

1 Ross 'Market Gardens
2 Baseball/Football Grounds
3 Speed Skating Oval
4 Edmonton Hotel
5 Ross' Mine
6 Ross' Livery
7 Inclined Rail Road
8 Ross Grade
9 Edmonton Cement
10 Edmonton Electric Company
11 Alberta Boat Co.
12 Provincial Docks
13 Huff Gravel
14 Edmonton Brewing & Malting
15 Dingman Oil Well
16 Dowling Grist Mill
17 Twin City Ice
18 Edmonton Yukon & Pacific Rail Station
19 Ortona Armoury
20 St. Theresa's Church
21 Saskatchewan Avenue School
22 City Tennis Courts
23 Donald Ross School
24 Model Rooms
25 Early Shops
26 1881 School House
27 Arctic Ice Company
28 Little Flower School
29 Children's Shelter
30 Exhibition Grounds
31 Husdon's Bay Co. Race Track
32 Tent City
33 Edmonton Concrete
34 Gold Dredging
35 Steamship Dock
36 Ross' Poing
37 John Walter's North Mill
38 Indian and Metis Encampment
39 Fort Agustus & Fort Edmonton
40 Edmonton Power & Water Works
41 John Walter's Ferry Landing
42 Husdon's Bay Co. & Indian Graveyard

CHAPTER 2
Background to the Problem, Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.0 Introduction

This thesis deals specifically with the process of inner city revitalization, its stages of development, and its effects on neighbourhood demographics and physical structure. Like most research on inner city revitalization this study reviews relevant material contained in conventional theories of neighbourhood change. Of particular importance to this study are the conventional concepts of population and land use succession and the devastating effects of private disinvestment. Conventional theories of neighbourhood change generally explain growth and decline in terms of natural cycles of supply and demand. For Rossdale this natural cycle was broken by public intervention, namely Edmonton's parkland acquisition policy. As a result of this policy the neighbourhood and its structures were allowed to decay in favour of a new planned land use. For this reason Rossdale's physical and economic decline can be more accurately described as a case of planning blight; the consequence of public decisions to disinvest in an area to accommodate for an alternative land use.

In Rossdale's case public policy not only involved disinvestment decisions but also prohibited private reinvestment, which accelerated neighbourhood decline. However, Rossdale's neighbourhood decline was arrested in 1986 with the adoption of the Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan, which stimulated the neighbourhood's revitalization (City of Edmonton, 1986a).

This chapter begins with the introduction of key concepts through a review of succession theory and Andrews' land use development model. Next the concept of planning blight is presented with documented accounts of this type of neighbourhood decline. The history of public policy affecting Rossdale's housing and development (i.e. the parkland acquisition policy) is presented. Then the concept of inner city revitalization is examined, beginning with a review of the urban renewal program of the 1950s and 1960s and its impact on modern day neighbourhood revitalization. The discussion of revitalization is presented in the form of a literature review detailing specific indicators of two main processes: gentrification and incumbent upgrading. Included are theoretical explanations of population life-cycle needs and lifestyle preferences which examine specific consumer housing and location patterns. Identified in the literature review are the concepts and terms most often used while describing inner city revitalization. From this review it is clear that the terms applied in the study of revitalization are subject to the interpretation of their users, and that these interpretations often differ from one researcher to the next. For this reason definitions that have been accepted for thesis purposes are clearly articulated. This conceptual framework is used as a basis for the analysis and interpretation of the socio-economic changes found to be occurring in Rossdale's revitalization, as discussed in Chapter 4.

2.1 Succession Theory

In efforts to identify and understand the interdependence between urban social patterns and land use change, researchers have conceived a variety of descriptive stage and life cycle models. Among the earliest, and perhaps most influential, was the work done by the Chicago School of Ecologists in the 1920s, most notably Burgess's concentric zone concept (Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 1967), and McKenzie's (1968) work on human ecology. Both McKenzie and Burgess argued that residential areas mature through a life cycle of growth and inevitable decline, involving predictable patterns of population and land use succession. McKenzie's concept of population and land use succession describes a process involving a constant change in housing occupancy in ageing and deteriorating urban areas by lower and lower income groups until the area is converted to a new use, and a new cycle begins (McKenzie, 1968). Change in tenure and quality of housing has also been referred to as a filtering process, where "dwellings or households are said to "filter-up" if their position improves over time or to "filter-down" if their position deteriorates" (Bourne, 1981, p. 149).

For McKenzie and Burgess, the underlying premise of succession theory, and the notion of a neighbourhood life cycle, is that all actors in the housing market exercise complete economic rationality (Vardy, 1986). In economic theory the patterns and processes of neighbourhood land use change are explained in terms of supply and demand in the urban land market. The process of inner city neighbourhood decline begins as pull factors, such as the supply of affordable new suburban housing, combine with push factors, such as the in-migration of low income families, to soften inner city housing demand (Vardy, 1986). Economic and social decline gains momentum as inner city landlords and owners, perceiving decreasing property values, withhold from making property improvements. In Rossdale's case, policy prohibiting private reinvestment disrupted this natural cycle and accelerated the physical decline of the neighbourhood's housing stock. Whether naturally or artificially created, the concept of private disinvestment is central to this discussion of housing deterioration. According to Bourne, private disinvestment results in housing obsolescence and physical blight due to "inadequate maintenance through misuse, abuse (overcrowding), or neglect" (Bourne, 1981, p. 179). According to traditional economic theory, this type of neighbourhood change results in "an irreversible cycle of decline followed by redevelopment with no option of renovation as an alternative style of urban renewal" (Bunting and Phipps, 1988, p. 139). Bourne states that most inner city residential areas fall victim to economic decisions favouring a new and more intensive land use because ultimately "each parcel of land is occupied by the activity which can utilize it most efficiently" (Bourne, 1967, p. 17).

Succession theory's pioneering concepts, particularly the notions of a neighbourhood life cycle and population and land use succession, are still relevant in the study of neighbourhood change (Smith and McCann, 1981). However, contemporary writers, including Smith and McCann, believe that succession theory's deterministic approach is too inflexible because it does not accommodate for private renewal activity as a means of restoring a neighbourhood's vitality. Several efforts have been made to broaden the deterministic approach of traditional succession theory. For example, Hoover and Vernon

(1959), based on a study of New York's residential growth patterns, postulated a five stage model of population and land use succession, where the onset of decline is avoidable in stage two of the neighbourhood's life cycle. However, early redevelopment depends on market forces and primarily involves the replacement of older homes with upscale apartment complexes. Their final stage, the renewal stage, describes redevelopment activity after the neighbourhood's life cycle of decline is complete. Although stage five results in renewal, it is dependent on public sector intervention in the form of public grants to private developers, or in the form of subsidized housing.

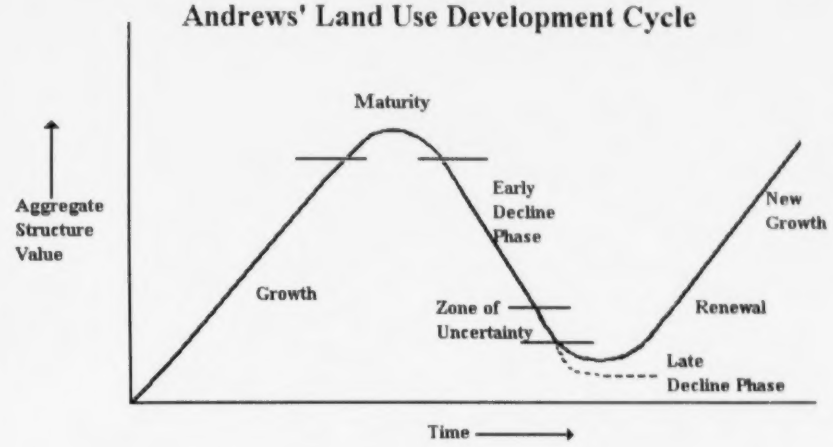
Similarly, a study completed by Public Affairs Counselling (PAC) in The United States (Clay and Hollister, 1983) proposed a five stage life cycle model where a healthy neighbourhood can stay in a state of equilibrium and thus avoid decline. However, like Hoover and Vernon found, PAC states that failure to reverse decline early in a neighbourhood's life cycle results in irreversible decline. Other attempts at modelling neighbourhood life-cycles include Birch's (1971) six stage model where age and density are the keys to a neighbourhood's life cycle, and Ahlbrandt and Brophy's (1975) neighbourhood cycle containing various stages of decline. These models describe neighbourhood decline as inevitable, and, like Hoover and Vernon's model, public investment decisions play a pivotal role in stimulating private renewal once decline has completed its course.

Of particular interest to the Rossdale study is Hoover and Vernon's discovery of a slum renewal process occurring in Greenwich Village, which involved some reconstruction, but mainly consisted of elaborate renovations to the existing housing stock. This is commonly referred to today as either gentrification or incumbent upgrading. Hoover and Vernon did not expound on this type of residential change because it was not deemed important at the time, and also because it was not widespread. Although Hoover and Vernon's stages of neighbourhood evolution realize private renewal activity, it fails to adequately accommodate for all types of private renewal activity throughout the stages of a neighbourhood's life cycle.

2.2 Andrews' Land Use Development Cycle

In Andrews' (1971) land use development cycle, private renewal is incorporated into the later stages of conventional succession theory (Figure 4). Neighbourhoods are described as evolving through a normal cycle of economic growth and decline involving population and land use succession, but ultimate neighbourhood decline can be offset. Private renewal, by long term residents or newcomers to the area, is portrayed as a possible component of a neighbourhood's life cycle to reverse urban decline. The cycle begins in the growth phase and moves to mature phase once development peaks. Over time, the ageing houses become outmoded and costly to repair, triggering downward filtering, and subsequent decline in structural values. The next phase, the zone of uncertainty, is a transition period in which the future of the neighbourhood's stability hinges on the success or failure of private reinvestment. In the event that reinvestment does not occur, the neighbourhood moves into its late decline phase. Although the role of government in this phase is greatly reduced, its participation is essential to stimulate private sector investment.

FIGURE 4
Andrews' Land Use Development Cycle



Source: Andrews, 1971; and Smith and McCann, 1981.

Although Rossdale experienced an unusual pattern of economic growth and decline due to public policy (see Section 2.3.1), the usefulness of Andrews's model to this study lies in its flexibility to accommodate all forms of private renewal in the zone of uncertainty, and earlier. As Smith and McCann state, "the new growth phase .... could result from gentrification or incumbent upgrading" (Smith and McCann, 1981, p. 544), or as defined by Bourne (1981) a process of filtering up. Regardless of its form, private reinvestment in Rossdale's case was a crucial component in the neighbourhood's revitalization.

2.3 The Concept of Planning Blight

The traditional theories of neighbourhood change presented in the preceding sections describe neighbourhood decline as an outcome of private disinvestment due to economic forces of supply and demand. However, Bourne (1981) claims that pure housing markets do not exist because "even in the most market-oriented of economies, the role of the state in housing is pervasive" (Bourne, 1981, p. 191). Along the same lines Ahlbrandt and Brophy claim that "the public sector plays a pivotal role in determining the future of a neighbourhood through its service and investment decisions" (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975, p.24). Therefore, it can be argued that in some cases private disinvestment may result from public policy. This was certainly the case in Rossdale where neighbourhood capital expenditures were limited and private reinvestment prohibited. Such public disinvestment decisions and regulations are usually involved when a neighbourhood is targeted for a land use change. Neighbourhood decline resulting from or advanced by public policy is a demonstration of planning blight. This section examines the impact of planning blight as revealed through selected examples.

In broad terms blight is defined as "any dereliction of any sort in villages, towns or cities" (McKean, 1977, p. 12). McKean (1977) states that dereliction is generally the result of neglect and disinvestment whilst areas await redevelopment. When dereliction

is caused in whole or in part by public policy it is referred to as planning blight. Planning blight occurs "when a planning authority or other public agency through such actions as designating an area of clearance or renewal invites uncertainty and undermines the incentive for improvement" (Bourne, 1981, p. 180). In short, planning blight is the product of policy which prohibits or discourages private reinvestment creating an atmosphere of neighbourhood uncertainty and instability. Typically, landlords and resident owners in areas experiencing planning blight perceive their neighbourhood's future with uncertainty and as a result withhold from making property improvements. Furthermore, "public sector decisions to disinvest from a neighbourhood .... can destroy the desire of residents to remain in the neighbourhood and hence hasten decline" (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975, p.24). The result of planning blight is physical, social, and economic decline. However, the effects of planning blight are not only public and private disinvestment, "but the length of time it takes a local Council to acquire all the buildings and demolish them, during which time the area decays, becoming derelict, vandalized and dangerous" (McKean, 1977, p. 14). This is especially true in Rossdale's case where the neighbourhood and its residents endured the negative effects of planning blight for approximately 20 years. Each case of planning blight discussed in this section, to one degree or another, is an example of neighbourhood decline resulting from the long-term impact of public policy.

Evidence of planning blight is widespread. Porteous (1989, p. 3) states that planning blight "is becoming a universal experience in an increasingly planned world". In his study of Howdendyke, a small village in Britain, Porteous describes how residential decline was advanced by public policy that supported the village's redevelopment for industrial purposes. The local and regional planning authorities involved agreed "that Howdendyke should be the site of future industrial growth" (Porteous, 1989, p.196). Between 1960 and 1986 much of the village of Howdendyke's residential land was targeted for acquisition by Hargreaves Fertilizers Ltd. for industrial expansion. Focusing on the potential employment benefits, planning authorities accepted numerous development and expansion proposals from Hargreaves Fertilizers Ltd. by passing resolutions permitting industry-related uses on formerly occupied residential land. With few exceptions, policy also prohibited new housing development, extensions, or improvements. In the long term, these policy decisions had a devastating impact on the community's physical and social fabric. In 1961 Howdendyke's 200 residents were housed in approximately 65 dwellings, but by 1986 the community's population declined to 100 and its housing stock reduced to 35 dwellings. According to Porteous (1989, p. 197), the local health and housing agency "complied with the Hargreaves/Boothferry Planning policy of destroying at least half of residential Howdendyke" . Porteous also claims that the demolition of houses in Howdendyke created an atmosphere of uncertainty among home owners which resulted in further blight. Reluctant to invest in home improvements, many owners allowed their property to decay and waited for Hargreaves Fertilizers Ltd. to make an offer to purchase. Howdendyke endured 25 years of planning blight as the area suffered overwhelming environmental degradation due to increased industrial activity and to the deliberate neglect of publicly and privately owned housing (Porteous, 1989).

Many neighbourhoods in Canada have been affected by planning blight as well. Milton-Park, a Montreal inner city neighbourhood, during the 1960s and 1970s endured two decades of decline and uncertainty as a result of planning blight. Originally, Milton-Park contained mainly two- and three-storey Victorian style houses boasting ornate details reflective "of an upwardly mobile middle class of merchants and professionals" (Helman, 1987, p. 15). However, after World War II the area began experiencing the effects of natural decline and ageing. Most of the middle class population moved to the suburbs forcing landlords to subdivide single unit dwellings and increase densities to maintain revenues. But this natural cycle of population and land use succession was dramatically altered when Concordia Estates, a large private developer, proposed a massive high density redevelopment project on a 25 acre parcel of land in the centre of Milton-Park. Between 1958 and 1968, Concordia Estates managed to acquire 96% of the properties within the proposed 25 acre development site (Helman, 1987). Their intentions were clear; "tearing down old buildings and covering the area with huge, profitable high-rises" (Goliger, 1982, p. 2). By 1972 Concordia Estates had demolished 250 housing units, most of which were in good condition, and began construction on a 26-storey apartment, hotel, office and shopping complex called La Cite (Goliger, 1982). Between 1958 and 1972, neighbourhood decline advanced as residents, uncertain of their neighbourhood's future, waited for the outcome of Concordia Estate's planned redevelopment. Many residents who sold to Concordia Estates left the neighbourhood. Property acquired by Concordia Estates was not maintained and often left vacant and abandoned. Blight was advancing in Milton-Park which reinforced the overall plan for massive redevelopment as proposed by Concordia Estates.

The City of Montreal supported redevelopment plans for Milton-Park "by allowing permissive zoning regulations which led to higher than normal densities of population" (Helman, 1986, p. 21). According to Helman (1986, p.21), "the only real attraction to the neighbourhood for the City was in terms of extra revenue that would come from redevelopment". It is this apparent lack of sensitivity, compassion, and responsibility to neighbourhood residents by the City of Montreal that makes Milton-Park a case of planning blight. In cases such as Milton-Park and Howdendyke, where large private developers place their needs ahead of area residents, "it is incumbent upon planning bureaucracies to consider all sides of the picture, and to pay particular attention to the protests of the largely powerless citizens who feel themselves endangered by the proposals of powerful private enterprise" (Porteous, 1989, p. 195). For years Milton-Park residents, and their interests, were neglected by the City of Montreal. Local authorities eventually sided with area residents to limit the amount of high density redevelopment, but not before the devastating affects of planning blight permanently altered the areas physical and social fabric.

During the same period that Milton-Park was threatened by large scale redevelopment in Montreal, so too were several Toronto inner city neighbourhoods. Don Vale, a community located close to downtown Toronto, was slated for 'urban renewal' (see Section 2.6) and high density redevelopment during the 1960s (Fraser, 1972). Although Don Vale contained "sound and architecturally distinctive housing" (Sabourin, 1994, p. 268), "city hall planned to expropriate, demolish, and redevelop a large pocket of blight

that its planners had identified within the area; the remainder of the district was vulnerable to high-rise development" (Caulfield, 1994, p. 29). Sabourin (1994) provides evidence of a period of private disinvestment in Don Vale during the 1960s which she attributes to market forces favouring suburban housing. However, during this period planning blight had its greatest impact on Don Vale as the neighbourhood's future land use and density was uncertain, and as such not an attractive investment. In Don Vale's case effective citizen protest secured its protection from redevelopment and retained its physical character, but not before the area's social fabric was permanently altered.

Other neighbourhoods in Toronto were not as fortunate. High Park, for example, had several square blocks of old houses demolished for high-rise construction (Caulfield, 1994). The Southeast Spadina and King Parliament neighbourhoods were unable to guard against policies to improve Toronto's downtown transportation network. In these neighbourhoods approximately 170 houses were demolished for expressways and ramps (Caulfield, 1994, p. 33). For High Park, Southeast Spadina, and King Parliament the impact of planning blight was severe; neighbourhood stability was significantly disrupted and the physical and social character permanently altered.

Evidence of planning blight is also found in Western Canada. North Logan, a Winnipeg inner city neighbourhood, endured the crippling effects of over 30 years of planning blight. North Logan's history of planning blight is very similar to Rossdale's situation. The community's natural cycle of growth and decline was interrupted in 1950 when a zoning by-law established the area as light industrial; "the rezoning meant that residents were disqualified from home improvement grants and could not obtain building permits to improve or add to their homes" (Elias and Slimmon, 1986, p. 20). As a result, neighbourhood housing suffered from neglect. Furthermore, North Logan's blighted condition was accelerated due to public decisions to withhold from investing in the area's infrastructure. According to Elias and Slimmon "municipal services were not maintained to the level normally found in residential areas but instead were allowed to deteriorate" (Elias and Slimmon, 1986, p. 20). Finally, in 1981, the City of Winnipeg announced plans to expropriate all properties in North Logan for future industrial land use. Determined to save their neighbourhood, area residents organized to protest the expropriation of their community. By 1983 the Logan Community Committee succeeded in convincing the City of Winnipeg to reverse its expropriation policy, and to rezone the area for residential rehabilitation and redevelopment. However, thirty five years of planning blight had devastating effects on the area's housing stock that were difficult to recover from. During the neighbourhood's rehabilitation and redevelopment twenty-six houses, deemed to be beyond repair, were demolished, while 18 properties cleared previously were "chosen as sites for infill housing" (Elias and Slimmon, 1986, p. 22). The neighbourhood's infrastructure was also in need of major repair, which required a considerable investment to upgrade to meet acceptable standards (Elias and Slimmon, 1986). Planning blight in North Logan permanently altered the neighbourhood's socio-economic and physical structure.

2.3.1 Planning Blight in Rossdale: Edmonton's *Parkland Acquisition Policy*

Although the roots of planning blight in Rossdale can be traced to the early 1960's, it did not manifest itself officially until 1971 when public policies prohibiting new development and property improvements began to emerge. Throughout this discussion, the term, Edmonton's *parkland acquisition policy* is used to refer to public policy affecting Rossdale's development. This section outlines the development of this policy and documents its impact on Rossdale's physical and social structure.

In 1907, Frederick Todd, a landscape architect from Montreal, first introduced the concept of a parkland policy to Edmonton. While suggesting plans for parks and boulevards for the City, he recommended that every advantage be taken of the great natural beauty of Edmonton's river valley and ravines (Todd, 1907; City of Edmonton, 1974; and 1981, McGibbon, 1984). Todd recommended long range acquisition of certain river valley and ravine properties and as much as possible of the undeveloped parts of the North Saskatchewan River valley wall. In 1911 the City of Edmonton established a Parks Commission and in 1912, consistent with Todd's recommendations, proposed that certain undeveloped parkland and ravine lands be reserved for parkland (Markham, 1988). Thus was born the concept of a parkland acquisition policy "by which valley lands were acquired as they became available and reserved for public use and enjoyment" (McGibbon, 1984, p. 46). It is important to recognize that at this time acquisition of river valley land was not a formal policy and only applied to undeveloped land.

Contributing to the development of Edmonton's parkland acquisition policy were two Provincial statutes (1919): the *Tax Recovery Act* and the *Arrears of Taxes Act* (McGibbon, 1984). These statutes allowed the City of Edmonton to seize land on which taxes were due. The 1922 amended version of the *Taxes Recovery Act* stated: "after the 14th of August in the year following the year in which a tax was imposed, in the event of a non-payment of taxes, the land would be forfeited to the municipality within whose area it was situated" (Dale, 1969, p.160). The municipality was to decide the appropriate future use for the recovered land. As a result of these tax recovery procedures, huge amounts of land within Edmonton came into municipal ownership. Consequently, City Council passed a resolution in 1926 indicating that all city-owned park and ravine properties, particularly low-lying properties not suitable for building purposes, be reserved solely for parkland (Dale, 1969; Markham, 1988). River valley land recovered in Edmonton was reserved for parks and recreation purposes. Between 1915 and 1945, the majority of expanded parkland in Edmonton was acquired in this manner, including several Rossdale lots adjacent to the North Saskatchewan River (Dale, 1969).

The next step in the evolution of Edmonton's parkland acquisition policy came as a result of the 1949 Bland and Spence-Sales report. In short, their report recommended that a system of parkways be developed throughout the North Saskatchewan River Valley, and that these parkways should extend and connect to highways beyond the boundaries of the city (McGibbon, 1984). By way of these recommendations, the Bland and Spence-Sales report suggested greater recognition be given to areas adjacent

to the river valley for parkway purposes. The report made no particular recommendation regarding Rossdale except to state that the neighbourhood was in transition.

It is important to note that the majority of Rossdale's original housing stock comprised small and poorly built houses "of wood frame construction with clapboard siding" (Rossdale Community League, 1982, p. 33). As such, the condition of Rossdale's housing was acutely susceptible to ageing and maintenance problems. Nevertheless, Rossdale was an extremely active community in the 1950s (Rossdale Community League, 1982), whose residents, according to Bedford (1976), exhibited a strong sense of neighbourhood attachment and identity. In 1954 Rossdale contained approximately 2,000 residents (Rossdale Community League, 1982) living in "286 single family residential dwellings, 4 duplexes and 5 apartments" (McGibbon, 1984, p. 50).

By the 1960s homes in the river valley had physically deteriorated due to neglect. The *1963 Urban Renewal Study* (City of Edmonton, 1963) classified 40 percent of the buildings in the central river valley as being in poor condition, and 81 percent in need of some structural repair. Based on the advanced state of physical blight discovered in Rossdale, the *1963 Urban Renewal Study* recommended the clearance of the neighbourhood by the year 1980 for parkland and parkways. McGibbon (1984, p. 51) states that this recommendation likely contributed to further private disinvestment and neglect, as well as enhance feelings of uncertainty among neighbourhood residents. Although the 1963 *Urban Renewal Study* was never adopted as policy, its proposals to eliminate residential land use in Rossdale created an atmosphere of uncertainty and instability.

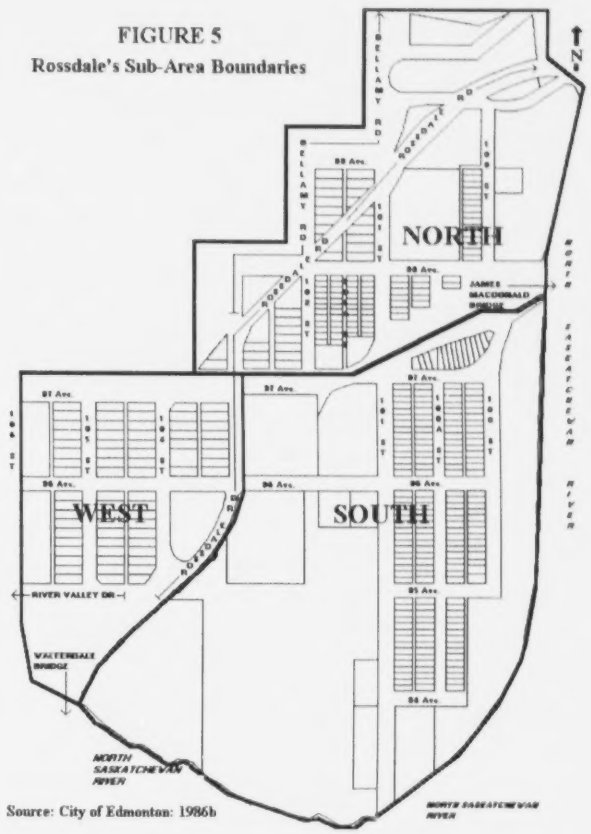
Also in 1963, the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission completed a study on Edmonton's transportation needs. They released the *Metropolitan Edmonton Transportation Study* (Edmonton Regional Planning Commission, 1963) which recommended a network of freeways and bridges be constructed in the river valley. Acting on these recommendations City Council approved the construction of a bridge in the Rossdale area to provide Edmonton's southeast areas better access to downtown. The James MacDonald Bridge and its approaches were constructed and opened on October 4, 1971 (Edmonton Journal, 1971). The bridge, which included the widening of 97 Avenue to six lanes and Rossdale Road to three lanes, cost $9.3 million.

The construction of the new bridge had two severe impacts on Rossdale. First, the bridge and its widened approaches permanently fragmented Rossdale into three distinct sub-sections (Figure 5). Dividing a neighbourhood and creating a physical barrier between its parts can have detrimental effects on residents' sense of community, attachment to place, and social support network. The second impact caused by the bridge and its construction was the demolition of 80 houses (Rossdale Community League, 1982). This further eroded the neighbourhood's housing stock and served to accelerate neighbourhood decline.

Edmonton's *parkland acquisition policy* was formalized with the adoption of the 1971 *Edmonton General Plan Bylaw*. This bylaw designated river valley communities, including Rossdale, as areas for long range acquisition for parks development (City of Edmonton, 1974). Later, in 1971, an extension of the General Plan Bylaw entitled the *Parks Master Plan* (City of Edmonton, 1971) was adopted by City Council. This was the

most decisive plan for property acquisition and parks development made by the City of Edmonton up to that time. The plan stipulated "that the City continue to acquire all privately owned properties in the river valley and ravine system [and] that the conceptual plan of the River Valley Park System be adopted as the basis of future park planning." (City of Edmonton, 1971, p. 10). Although not specifically stated in the plan, the intended future land use for Rossdale gave the City grounds for refusal of development permits. Therefore, in 1971, Council, for the first time, made a commitment in the form of a policy to acquire developed property in Rossdale for eventual park purposes. This policy clearly stated the City's intention to eliminate the river valley communities.

FIGURE 5
Rossdale's Sub-Area Boundaries



Source: City of Edmonton: 1986b

The policy to acquire river valley properties was restated in the *1980 Edmonton General Plan* (City of Edmonton, 1980), and again in the proposed *1981 North Saskatchewan River Valley Area Redevelopment Plan* (City of Edmonton, 1981)

The *1981 North Saskatchewan River Valley Area Redevelopment Plan* recommended the preservation and enhancement of the natural environment of the river valley and also recommended the launching of a land acquisition program to facilitate the transition of privately owned land to public ownership. The plan would have allowed Rossdale to exist as a "community protection area"[1] until 1996. However, Section 9.2.1 of the plan stated, "if an owner applies for a permit for major renovations to develop his property, council may consider expropriation if negotiated purchase is not possible." Once again this policy restated the City's intention of eliminating Rossdale's residential land use in favour of parkland.

Due to Edmonton's *parkland acquisition policy*, Rossdale endured some 20 years of planning blight, whereby private and public disinvestment resulted in the decimation

[1] Areas the City has agreed not to acquire in a compulsory manner, except in special circumstances.

of a large portion of the neighbourhood's housing stock and permanently altered the area's social fabric. Rossdale's population was reduced from an estimated 2,000 in the 1950's (Rossdale Community League, 1982) to 366 in 1983 (City of Edmonton, 1983). Similarly, the number of single family dwelling units decreased from 286 in 1954 (McGibbon, 1984) to approximately 153 in 1984 (City of Edmonton, 1986b). By 1982 the city had demolished about 200 dwelling units in Rossdale, 80 of which were removed for the construction of the James MacDonald Bridge and its approaches (Rossdale Community League, 1982).

The condition of the majority of houses in Rossdale still standing was very poor. In a 1984 survey of the exterior condition of housing stock (City of Edmonton, 1986b), it was reported that 123 (80.4%) of 153 houses required structural repair; 14 (11.4%) of them were deemed beyond salvation. Evidence of public disinvestment in Rossdale's housing stock was apparent from data recorded in the 1984 survey. The City owned 81 (52.9%) of the 153 single family dwellings. Of these houses, 75 (92.6%) required structural improvement. Furthermore, of the 14 houses deemed beyond repair, the City owned 13 (93%). This indicates that City-owned properties in Rossdale were not maintained and were allowed to deteriorate. Public disinvestment in the neighbourhood's facilities and services also influenced overall decline. Ken Johnson, senior City Planner working on Rossdale's rehabilitation, was quoted as saying:

> As a conscious policy, the City didn't put money into renewing the facilities and services. Funds were allocated for a basic level of maintenance only, as the long-term policy was to phase out the (river valley) communities.
>
> (Gorrie, 1986, p. 26)

Evidence of private disinvestment was also revealed in the 1984 survey. The survey found that 48 (66.7%) of the 72 privately-owned single family dwellings required structural improvement. Photograph 1 is an example of neglect and disinvestment of a privately-owned house in Rossdale. The overall rundown image of the neighbourhood in 1984 was accentuated by the presence of approximately 120 vacant residential lots where houses had been demolished. Clearly, the long term effects of planning blight in Rossdale were devastating.

2.4 Factors Influencing the Political Decision to Amend Edmonton's Parkland Acquisition Policy to Include Residential Land Use in Rossdale

According to McGibbon (1984) the emergence of citizen protest against Edmonton's parkland acquisition policy began as early as 1974 when a small group of river valley residents presented Council with alternatives to the acquisition and demolition of river valley residences. McGibbon's (1984) research, which is recommended reading for a thorough understanding of the role of citizen participation and protest against Edmonton's parkland acquisition policy, suggests that upwardly mobile newcomers to the river valley communities in the 1970s played a key role in the fight to save river valley residential neighbourhoods. Led by these organized newcomers, many river valley residents opposed the City's policy of purchasing lots and demolishing the houses standing on them. They accused the city of creating an atmosphere of uncertainty which enhanced

Photograph 1. Evidence of Disinvestment and Neglect in Rossdale's Older Housing Stock

neighbourhood decline (McGibbon, 1984). The river valley residents developed an organization to protect against the City's property acquisition tactics. This organization, which came to be named the 'Society for the Preservation of the River Valley' (McGibbon, 1984), established an effective forum for facilitating citizen participation in river valley policies.

In May 1983 the Rossdale community league presented City Council with an alternative development plan, The Rossdale Living Heritage Park Plan (Rossdale Community League, 1982). In short, the plan proposed an ecomuseum or living heritage park theme for Rossdale. "The proposed living heritage park will combine within the heart of Alberta's Capital City, heritage interpretation, outdoor recreation, and community life" (Rossdale Community League, 1982, p.1). The Rossdale Living Heritage Park Plan represented the first alternative proposal promoting river valley communities rather than the conversion of residential land use to parkland. In 1983, a newly elected council accepted the concept of an ecomuseum for Rossdale and called on city planners to design new plans for the river valley encouraging the development of the existing communities, while at the same time protecting the area for park and recreational uses. The result was the 1985 North Saskatchewan River Valley Area Redevelopment Plan Bylaw (City of Edmonton, 1985). Its main purpose was to protect the natural and heritage areas of the river valley including the residential communities. The plan contained four main goals:

1. Ensure preservation of the natural character and environment of the North Saskatchewan River Valley and Ravine System.
2. Establish a public Metropolitan recreation area.
3. Provide opportunity for recreational, aesthetic and cultural activities in the Plan area for the benefit of Edmontonians and visitors.
4. Ensure retention and enhancement of the Rossdale and Cloverdale communities in the River Valley.

To achieve these goals in Rossdale the 1985 North Saskatchewan River Valley Area Redevelopment Plan directed Edmonton's Planning and Building department to prepare an Area Redevelopment Plan for the neighbourhood, and recommended the following guidelines be considered:

1. Primarily residential development be proposed for South Rossdale.
2. New or expanded major facilities which adversely impact the residential community shall be discouraged.
3. New development should be of design to compliment the river location and the Capital City Recreation Park.
4. Any new commercial uses should serve local residential development, recreational and parkland development, or be part of a city-wide facility.
5. Pedestrian links should be provided to all neighbouring communities to accommodate the proposed development for the area.
6. A marketing strategy should be developed to dispose of City owned property for proposed development in the area. Residential and other suitable uses, including parks and recreation uses, may be considered in the Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan area.

(City of Edmonton, 1986a)

This represented a drastic departure from Edmonton's parkland acquisition policy, most notably the decision to reinvest in Rossdale, thereby enhancing the neighbourhood's residential land use. The following section introduces Rossdale's 1986 Area Redevelopment Plan, a policy designed to realize this new vision of Rossdale.

2.5 Rossdale's 1986 *Area Redevelopment Plan*

Public involvement in inner city revitalization is well documented as being an effective catalyst to achieve neighbourhood stability through private investment (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975; Bunting and Filion, 1988; Clay, 1979; Smith and McCann, 1981). Public involvement in inner city revitalization can involve as many as three levels of government, as in the case of Winnipeg's Core Area Initiative project (Kiernan, 1987). Although trigovernmental renewal efforts are advocated by many (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975; Bunting and Filion, 1988; and Kiernan, 1987), Clay states that "the city's power to shape the process for exporting and promoting revitalization is greater than that of any other level of government" (Clay, 1979, p.94). Changes to land use districting or zoning and community improvement projects are examples of a city's power to influence revitalization. Public neighbourhood change may take the form of housing projects, facility improvements, and/or infrastructure upgrades. Through the delivery of these services and reinvestment decisions, the city reinforces neighbourhood stability.

In 1983, the City of Edmonton reversed its long standing policy to eliminate residential land use in Rossdale, and in 1986 approved the *Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan* (ARP) (City of Edmonton, 1986a). The *1977 Alberta Planning Act* granted municipalities the authority to adopt ARP bylaws in accordance with their overall community plan. ARPs are strategically designed to meet the needs and activities at a very local level, and as a result are refined to suit specific or special needs. An ARP becomes policy once council adopts the ARP in question as a bylaw. If the proposed ARP is in conflict with any other planning bylaw, then the other bylaw must also be amended to maintain consistency. This was the case regarding Rossdale's proposed ARP, which contravened a section of the 1980 *Parks Master Plan* and the *1981 North Saskatchewan Area Redevelopment Plan* which called for the elimination of residential land use in Rossdale. Consequently, the 1980 *Parks Master Plan* was amended to be consistent with the goals and objectives of Rossdale's proposed ARP.

Municipalities create and implement ARPs as a planning tool to carry out the rebuilding or restoration of urban areas (Hodge, 1991). "The purpose of an ARP is primarily to assist with the effective planning and redevelopment of areas in municipalities" (Alberta, 1980, p. 21). As specified under Section 65 of the Planning Act, 1977, ARPs may designate any or all of the following conditions be applied to the specified area:

1. preserving or improving land and buildings in the area
2. rehabilitating buildings in the area
3. removing buildings from an area
4. constructing or replacing buildings in the area
5. establishing, improving or relocating public roadways, public utilities or other services in the area

Before an ARP becomes a bylaw "a council shall hold a public hearing with respect to the proposed bylaw" (Alberta, 1977, Section 139.1). The purpose of the public hearing is to allow those affected by the proposed bylaw the opportunity to express their concerns and recommendations. Upon completion of the public hearing, council may "make such amendments or changes as it considers necessary to the proposed bylaw, if any, and proceed to pass the proposed bylaw" (Alberta, 1977, Section 140.2.a). With respect to Rossdale's ARP the local community, the Rossdale Community League, the general population of Alberta, as well as professional architects and designers, helped influence the outcome of the plan by participating in the River Valley Community Design Competition, which included public meetings, workshops, surveys, and design competitions (City of Edmonton, 1986a, Section 2.2). From this public participation numerous recommendations and concerns arose. In addition to the rehabilitation of existing housing, the main concern was regarding the type, style and intensity of new housing to be proposed. Other equally important issues included road, curb, sidewalk, and boulevard upgrades to improve the neighbourhood's overall image, park and recreational improvements, the question of additional land acquisition for parkland, heritage preservation, the equitable disposition of City-owned residential lots, and the fear of potential flooding. These recommendations and concerns helped shape the overall concept and objectives of Rossdale's ARP (City of Edmonton, 1986a).

The goal of the 1986 Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan was to "strengthen the future of Rossdale as a residential neighbourhood and create a diverse and attractive urban landscape which complements both the River Valley and the Downtown" (City of Edmonton, 1986a, Section 3.2). In short, Rossdale's ARP was intended to transform the neighbourhood into a thriving urban environment containing a variety of housing, commercial facilities, and enhanced community and city-wide recreation facilities. To achieve these goals the Rossdale ARP identified 38 plan objectives. The objectives of the Rossdale ARP are:

Residential Objectives:

1 To retain South Rossdale as a primarily low density residential area.

2 To facilitate rejuvenation of the existing housing stock in South Rossdale.

3 In South Rossdale, to encourage infill housing forms with respect to scale, siting, and character of the existing housing stock.

4 In South Rossdale, to establish a rhythm or interval of development that is consistent with the narrow lot width that exists.

5 To designate West Rossdale a Special Study Area to determine future uses for this portion of the community.

6 In North Rossdale, to introduce primarily medium density housing forms which allow for a variety of types and designs of housing.

7 To introduce housing forms which are sympathetic to, and take advantage of, their river valley setting.

Commercial Objectives:

8 To encourage new retail and office commercial development which serves the needs of the existing and future population.

9 To locate new commercial sites adjacent or easily accessible to major roadways.

10 To encourage commercial development which complements the Capital City Recreation Park.

11 To protect existing and future residential areas from conflict with commercial uses.

12 To provide for appropriate neighbourhood convenience commercial uses.

13 To encourage retail and office commercial development in North Rossdale in scale with the neighbourhood considering surrounding land use and transportation influences.

Mixed Land Use Objectives:

14 To encourage a mix of medium density residential and commercial uses in North Rossdale

15 To encourage a mix of low density residential and commercial uses in South Rossdale north of 97 Avenue.

Community Facilities, Parks, Recreation and Open Space Objectives:

16 To retain existing community recreation facilities on an interim basis and provide for expansion of such facilities as necessary to meet the needs of increased population resulting from redevelopment.

17 To ensure that adequate neighbourhood park and recreational facilities are developed to meet the needs of the existing and future population.

18 To allow the intensification and expansion of recreational opportunities of a city-wide nature in the Plan area and ensure that the negative impacts of such facilities are minimized.

19 To encourage new residential development to provide on-site leisure and recreation facilities.

Urban Design and Built Form Objectives:

20 To ensure that redevelopment in North Rossdale provides an appropriate transition in density, height, and mass from downtown to the low density residential portions of South Rossdale.

21 To encourage developers to design buildings to maximize usable open space for the benefit of residents.

22 To encourage developers to design and construct new buildings which are complementary to the character of existing development.

23 To encourage the retention and development of mature vegetation, particularly as a buffer between residential areas, arterial roadways and non-residential land uses.

24 To encourage developers to design and orient buildings to reduce the impacts of adjacent arterial roadways and other conflicting land uses, and make optimal use of river valley views.

Transportation and Pedestrian Circulation Objectives:

25 To mitigate existing and potential impacts of transportation facilities on the community.

26 To provide adequate traffic management measures to ensure safe and convenient pedestrian and vehicular access to and egress from the neighbourhood.

27 To encourage pedestrian and non-motorized traffic circulation through streetscape and pedestrian walkway improvements.

Major Facilities Objectives:

28 To buffer the impact of City-wide utilities and other municipal services on the community through screen planting and traffic and noise control measures.

29 To minimize the impact of activities at John Ducey Park on the community.

Local Utilities and Other Municipal Services Objectives:

30 To provide an acceptable level of service for utilities, water, fire, and police protection, public transit and other municipal services.

31 To ensure that roadways, sidewalks and lanes are improved to City standards.

Flood Protection Objectives:

32 To designate part of the neighbourhood as a flood protection area and provide advisory guidelines for development which may be susceptible to flooding.

Land Disposal and Acquisition Objectives:

33 To dispose of city-owned lands at fair market value in a manner compatible with the objectives of the City and the Rossdale *Area Redevelopment Plan*.

34 To acquire property where required and where possible to support land development and land marketing objectives related to the public property disposal program and the completion of the Capital City Recreation Park.

Heritage Preservation Objectives:

35 To identify historically significant buildings.

36 To encourage retention, restoration, and recycling of historically significant buildings, where feasible.

37 To encourage redevelopment strategies for historically significant buildings and sites which are sensitive to the original character of the building, where feasible.

Financial Objective:

38 To determine an acceptable means of financing special improvement projects.

(City of Edmonton, 1986a, Section 2.4)

The majority of the ARP's objectives were to be achieved through land use districting changes, or what are more commonly referred to as zoning regulations. Zoning

regulations are "the best known form of land-use control" (Levy, 1988, p. 103). Land use zoning specifies the type of use permitted as well as site and building requirements. Zoning regulations in an ARP are allowed to be very specific regarding the type of development for the area to ensure land use development compatible with the plan's objectives. For example, the objective of retaining low density residential development in South Rossdale was achieved by designating the area an RF3 (low density redevelopment) district (City of Edmonton, 1986a, Section 3.3.1.a). The intent of this districting is to promote new single and semi-detached housing, as well as small scale conversion and infill redevelopment. In Rossdale, development was to be compatible with the architectural style and heritage of existing housing in the area. As a result of this new land use districting Objectives 1 and 2 of the ARP were met. Other primary land use districting changes and the logic behind them are discussed in Section 4.1.2; Change in Land Use Districting.

Many development conditions set out in an ARP are regulated through a convenient planning tool called a Statutory Plan Overlay. Use of an overlay "is a convenient way of regulating a specific land use because it avoids the time consuming process involved in formally applying for a bylaw amendment" (Fekner, 1995). The overlay is a special regulatory tool used "to alter or specify regulations for permitted and discretionary uses in otherwise appropriate land use districts, in order to achieve the local planning objectives of an ARP" (City of Edmonton, 1991, Section 820K).

Rossdale's ARP contains two overlays. The first is the flood plain protection overlay which adds special regulations to land use districts falling within the 25 year flood zone. The second overlay is the statutory plan overlay which varies some of the regulations applying to the regular land use districts (City of Edmonton, 1991, Section 820K).

Some of the ARP's objectives, such as pedestrian walkways, parks, street and landscape improvements were to be realized through a commitment of over two million dollars by the City. For the concept of Rossdale's revitalization to be realized, the City recognized that many improvements to the neighbourhood's public places and infrastructure were required. Thus, the City designed and implemented a capital improvement program for the community. Table 1 shows the three year budget and schedule for capital projects recommended for Rossdale. Improvements were to include road, lane and sidewalk repairs, new streetscape design and signage, water and sewer upgrades, and parks and recreation improvements. As part of park and recreation improvements, the Capital City Recreation Park was to be extended through Rossdale, adjacent to the river, with new bike and pedestrian trails.

Rossdale's ARP also contained objectives dealing with the disposal of City-owned land, and the acquisition of privately owned land. Sections 3.11 and 3.12 (City of Edmonton, 1986a) of the Rossdale ARP outlined the policy for land disposal and acquisition. Some of those who participated in the public meetings held prior to the final draft of the ARP were concerned about the procedures that the City would employ to dispose of City-owned land and the acquisition of privately-owned land. As a result, the ARP specified several conditions to be followed for the sale of City owned land and for public

Table 1

Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan: Three Year Implementation Budget

(in thousands)

IMPROVEMENTS	1987 $	1988 $	1989 $	TOTAL BUDGET	RESPONSIBLE DEPARTMENT
Road Improvements		350		350	Transportation
Traffic Signals		40		40	Transportation
Downtown Pedestrian Access	17			17	Transportation
Parking Management in South Rossdale ($5000)[1]					Transportation
Streetscape Improvements					
- 102 St/96 to 97 Ave					
- pedestrian walk, lighting, trees, benches, waste receptacles	85			85	Planning & Building
- 101 St Berm					
- tree planting & fence	65			65	Planning & Building
- Rossdale Road Streetscapes					
- 96 Ave streetscapes	66			66	Planning & Building
- 97 Ave streetscapes			150	150	Planning & Building
	75			75	Planning & Building
Roadway & Sidewalk Repairs[2]	242	37	165	444	Transportation
Downtown & Neighbourhood Identification Signage	60			60	Planning & Building
Sewer Improvements					
- inspection	60			60	Water & Sanitation
- roof leader disconnections	34	200		234	
Capital City Recreation Park Improvements					
- trail development	300				Parks & Recreation
- viewpoint development					Parks & Recreation
- temp washrooms	75				Parks & Recreation
Consulting Fees	40	25		65	Planning & Building
Total:	1,119	752	315	2,186	

[1] Paid for in 1986 through the Transportation Department budget

[2] Cost shared through the Local Improvements Program

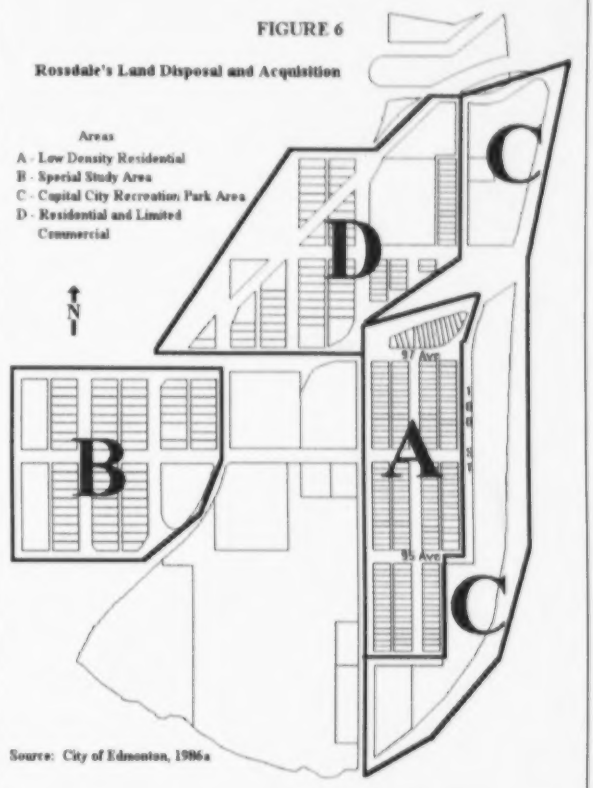
[3] Installed only if facilities not available through development of Brewery Area by 1987

Source: City of Edmonton, 1986d

land acquisition. For example, property owners who sold their property to the City were to be given the opportunity to re-purchase their properties in South Rossdale's low density area, shown as Area A in Figure 6. Existing private owners in Area C (Capital City Recreation Park area), Area B (special study area), and Area D (residential and limited commercial area) were given the opportunity to purchase or trade their property for City owned property in Area A. Tenants in City-owned dwellings in Areas A, B, C, and D were also given the choice of purchasing property in Area A, or relocating to other available City housing. It is beyond the scope of this study to assess the social inequities resulting from the disposal of City owned property in Rossdale, but it is apparent that measures were taken to accommodate the concerns of area residents.

FIGURE 6

Rossdale's Land Disposal and Acquisition



Source: City of Edmonton, 1986a

Part of the rationale behind the ARP's policy of giving private owners of Area C priority in the disposal of City owned property in Area A, was to facilitate the acquisition of the remaining land in Area C. The City owned all the land in Area C except for 5 properties located on the east side of 100 Street between 95 Avenue and 97 Avenue. The ARP recommended this area for swift acquisition to be added to the Capital City Recreation Park. Land acquisition recommendations also included negotiations with private owners of properties in Area D for future medium density residential use. The following section examines further changes made to Rossdale's land use districting to accommodate other objectives of the ARP.

2.5.1 Change in Land-Use Districting

Figure 7 depicts Rossdale's 1985 (City of Edmonton, 1986a) pattern of land use districting prior to its ARP and revitalization. Figure 8 displays the neighbourhood's land use districting as proposed in the Rossdale ARP (City of Edmonton, 1986a). By comparing the new districts shown in Figure 8 to the old districts shown in Figure 7 one can infer the changes that were made to realize the ARP's objectives. Since West Rossdale was designated a special study area (Figure 6) to determine appropriate future land uses, no changes were planned to that area's land use districts.

In South Rossdale, the area east of Rossdale Road and south of the James MacDonald Bridge, three main land use district changes were planned. The first, marked S1 on Figure 8, indicates a land use change from a metropolitan recreation area to a medium density multiple unit family district. This designation did not alter the land use, but simply recognized the existing land use of Ross Flats Apartments, a three storey brick apartment building originally built to shelter neglected children in 1912 (Rossdale Community League, 1982). The apartment building has been recognized by the Edmonton Historic Board as a historically significant building (City of Edmonton, 1986a, section 3.3.1.f). This land use districting change meets the historic preservation Objectives 35 and 36 of the ARP. The second land use district change, marked S2 on Figure 8, allows for low density residential development and small-scale neighbourhood commercial activity. The redevelopment guidelines for this RMX (Residential Mixed Use) district are specified in Rossdale's ARP, which states "residential development to conform to the requirements of the adjacent RF3 district and commercial development to be unobtrusive since this is a predominantly residential area" (City of Edmonton, 1986a, p. 62). This new land use district for this area of the neighbourhood meets Objectives 11 and 12 of the ARP. The previous land use district, CB1, was deemed not compatible with South Rossdale's new residential district because it allowed for a wider range of commercial services which rely on high volumes of vehicular traffic, such as gas stations or video stores (City of Edmonton, 1986a). The third land use district change in South Rossdale, marked S3 on Figure 8, allows for the retention of the neighbourhood's existing children's playground. This land use district change supports the ARP's objective of retaining existing community recreation facilities (Objective 16).

As stated in the previous section many of Rossdale's new land use districts are regulated by the statutory plan overlays. Although the overlays are necessary to achieve the particular vision of revitalization that is represented in Rossdale's ARP, the revisions applying to South Rossdale's RF3 districts are particularly important. For Rossdale to attract a diverse mix of people and housing forms as envisioned in the ARP, South Rossdale's redevelopment was pivotal. However, according to Section 140 of Edmonton's General Land Use bylaw (City of Edmonton, 1991), the majority of South Rossdale's residential lots, due to their small size (10.16 m by 30.48 m), did not conform to standard RF3 districting regulations. Through the use of an overlay, several RF3 regulations were relaxed or lessened. For example, Section 820K.4 (City of Edmonton, 1991) describes the conditions of the statutory plan overlay that reduces or lessens the standard RF3 regulations regarding single unit dwelling development for South Rossdale. First, the minimum site area was reduced from 360 square meters to 300 square meters. Second, the minimum site width was reduced from 12 meters to 10 meters. Third, the minimum front yard was reduced from 6.0 m to 3.0 m. Fourth, the minimum rear yard for an accessory building was reduced from 4.88 m to 1.2 m. Fifth, the maximum site coverage for a principal building was increased from 28% to 35%, and for an accessory building from 12% to 15%. The maximum total site coverage was increased from 40% to 45%. These overlay conditions enabled new single unit dwellings to be built in South Rossdale of scale and size comparable to housing development elsewhere in the City. As a result, the ARP's objective of creating a diverse mix of people, including larger families, is accommodated.

FIGURE 7

Rossdale's Land Use Districts - 1985 Prior to Revitalization

Land Use Districts

RF3 Low Density Redevelopment District
RA7 Low Rise Apartment District
DC3 Temporary Holding District
(R-6) (High Rise Residential)

CB1 Low Intensity Business
US Urban Services
PU Public Utilities
A Metropolitian Recreation
DC3 Temporary Holding
(AP) (Public Parks) Restricted Development Area

Source: City of Edmonton, 1986a

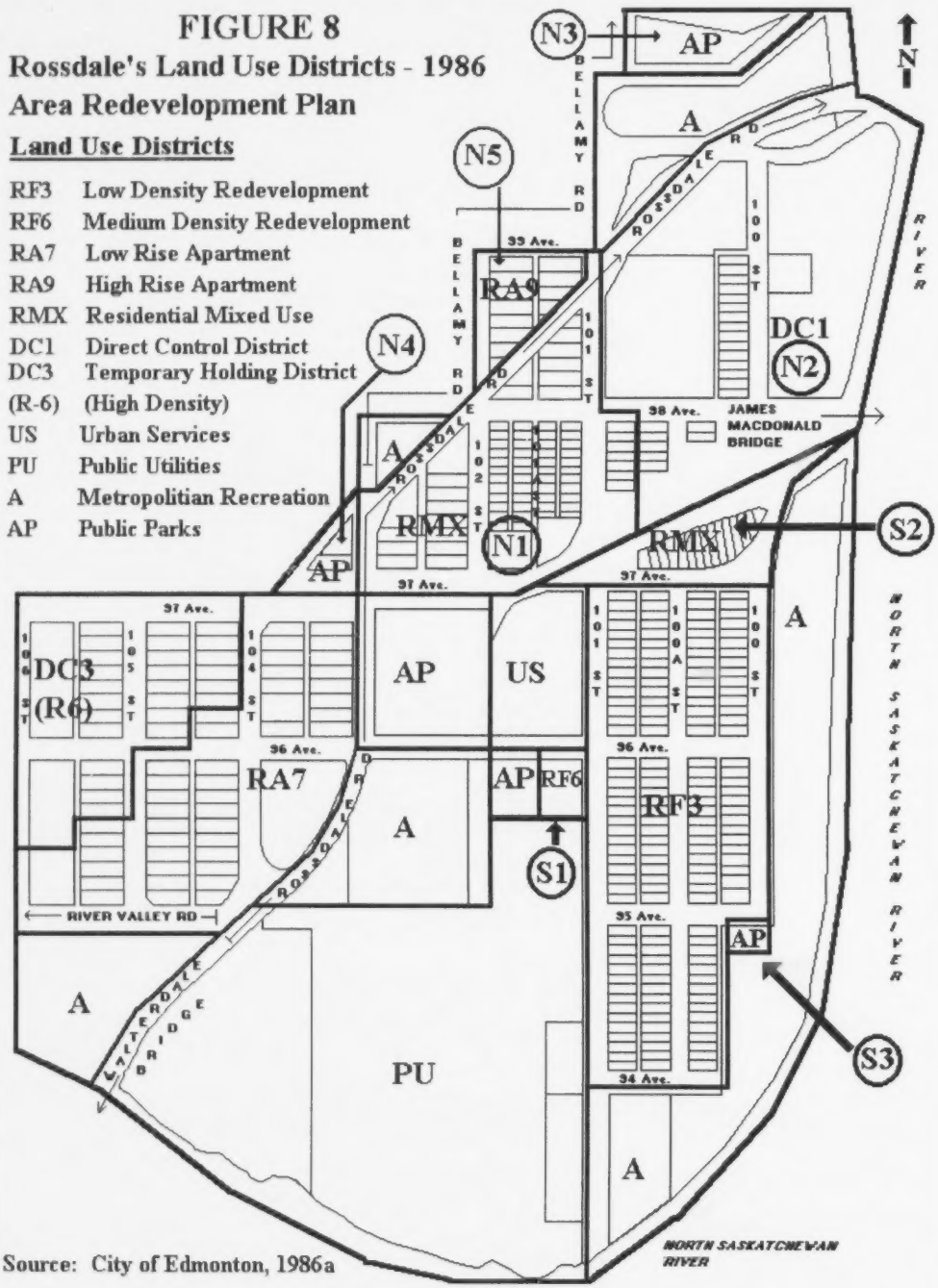
Source: City of Edmonton, 1986d

FIGURE 8

Rossdale's Land Use Districts - 1986 Area Redevelopment Plan

Land Use Districts

RF3	Low Density Redevelopment
RF6	Medium Density Redevelopment
RA7	Low Rise Apartment
RA9	High Rise Apartment
RMX	Residential Mixed Use
DC1	Direct Control District
DC3	Temporary Holding District
(R-6)	(High Density)
US	Urban Services
PU	Public Utilities
A	Metropolitan Recreation
AP	Public Parks



Source: City of Edmonton, 1986a

Figure 8 shows that North Rossdale, the area north of 97 Avenue/James MacDonald Bridge and east of Rossdale Road, received five land use district changes. The first, marked N1, is a RMX land use district which allows for a mix of medium density residential development and commercial activity. The ARP recommends residential development in this area to conform to architectural guidelines in keeping with the overall neighbourhood, and to be in the form of two storey semi-detached row housing. The new RMX land use district meets Objective 6 of the ARP, which was to introduce a variety of medium density housing in keeping with the neighbourhood's overall character. The two previous land use districts for this area, as shown in Figure 7, did not facilitate this objective. The first, US (an urban services district), allowed for "public and privately owned facilities of an institutional or community service nature, such as schools or day care centres" (City of Edmonton, 1986a); and the second, RA7, allowed for low rise apartments or a standard row housing development.

The second land use districting change in North Rossdale, marked N2 on Figure 8, involves the area primarily east of 101 Street, north of James MacDonald Bridge, and generally south of Rossdale Road. The new use is a Direct Control District (DC1), which allows "for a special activities area with a mix of residential, parks, commercial, entertainment, cultural and educational uses appropriate to its relationship to the downtown and the river edge and to the Capital City Recreation Park" (City of Edmonton, 1986a, p. 63). Here, proposed future residential and commercial development is to be in keeping with the historic character of the primary structure in the area, the Rossdale Brewery (refer to Figure 3). As part of this district, the Rossdale Brewery, "one of the oldest unaltered industrial buildings in the province" (City of Edmonton, 1986a, Section 3.5.1d) is to be rehabilitated. The plan recommends development of an old town market place for this area. The DC1 land use district accommodates Objectives 10 and 37 of the ARP. Although the prior land use districting (RF3) for part of this area allowed for low density residential development and recreational use, it did not include commercial activity.

The third land use district change for North Rossdale, marked N3 on Figure 8, reserves a parcel of land just east of Bellamy Road and north of 100 Avenue as a public park district (AP). This area was previously a temporary holding district. As a public park district Objective 17 and 23 of the ARP are accommodated. Similarly, the fourth land use district change in North Rossdale, marked N4 on Figure 8, also provides more public park (AP) space for the neighbourhood. This small triangular shaped parcel of land, located north of 97 Avenue and west of Rossdale Road, was formerly zoned RA7 (low rise apartment district). According to Section 3.5.1.i of the ARP this parcel was to be "landscaped in recognition of its importance as an entranceway to downtown" (City of Edmonton, 1986a). In this regard the new land use district for this area helps to attain the overall concept of the ARP of ensuring that Rossdale's new vision complements Edmonton's downtown.

The fifth land use district change in North Rossdale, marked by N5 on Figure 8, affects the parcel of land east of Bellamy Road and north of Rossdale Road. This area was formerly zoned DC-3 (R-6), a temporary holding district for potential high rise development. The new land use district RA9 allows for high density residential

development. This land use district change accommodates Objectives 6 and 7 of the ARP. The purpose of Rossdale's new land use districting was to affect the goals and objectives of the 1986 ARP and to ensure compatible land use development in keeping with the neighbourhood's proposed new look. In South Rossdale's RF3 district, for example, large scale commercial activity was deemed incompatible with the proposed low density residential land use, and thus not permitted. However, in North Rossdale, the higher residential densities and proximity to transportation networks allow for a greater mix of commercial and residential activity. The new vision of the neighbourhood was to be encouraged by the many landscape and streetscape upgrades to create a vibrant neighbourhood image. Rossdale's 1986 Area Redevelopment Plan marks the end of decades of public policy aimed at removing the inner city river valley neighbourhood. In 1986, Rossdale began a process of residential revitalization which continues today. The remainder of this chapter examines the theory and concepts associated with inner city revitalization beginning with a review of the urban renewal experience of the 1950s and 1960s.

2.6 The Urban Renewal Experience of the 1950s and 1960s

The urban renewal experience of the 1950s and 1960s is significant to this thesis for two reasons. First, many of the cases of planning blight presented in Section 2.3 were initiated by urban renewal policies. In Rossdale's case, the uncertainties associated with planning blight were accelerated by the 1963 Urban Renewal Study which recommended the clearance of the neighbourhood by 1980 for parkland and parkways. Second, much of contemporary revitalization theory and practice is based on lessons learned from the urban renewal experience. For example, the need to preserve the existing physical form of neighbourhoods became clearer as a result of the urban renewal experience. For these reasons the urban renewal program warrants review.

Although the notion of renewing the urban fabric is a very old one, planing theory of urban renewal was not consciously shaped until the 1930's (Smith, 1990). By that time, British and American governments had became involved in social housing programs and slum clearance (Clay, 1979; Doxiadis, 1966; Home, 1982; Smith, 1990). The primary purpose of urban renewal was for government to restore the attractiveness of decaying downtown residential and commercial areas. In Canada, Humprey Carver, as early as 1935, advocated and actively lobbied for a national housing policy aimed at restoring a quality living environment through publicly funded social housing programs (Hodge, 1991). The term urban renewal was first coined in the 1949 United States Housing Act, and later modified by the Housing Act of 1954, which made federal funds available to local municipalities to participate in slum clearance and social housing projects (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). The Act empowered local renewal authorities to condemn and expropriate property in blighted areas, and clear the land for resale to prospective private redevelopers at subsidized prices. To encourage private sector investment, government funds were also available for infrastructure improvements (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981). Private sector investment increased as restrictions on redevelopment were relaxed in the Housing Act of 1954 to include such projects as civic centres, convention halls, and office buildings.

Canada, experiencing similar urban housing problems, adopted urban renewal as a comprehensive national policy in 1956 (Smith, 1990). Similar to the U.S. experience, urban renewal in Canada was a planning tool designed to obtain the best possible urban environment. Urban renewal was planned for in two ways; the first was referred to as spontaneous renewal, which required planners to regulate the renewal activities of individual entrepreneurs or developers. This type of renewal occurred naturally with limited public involvement. The second type of renewal was referred to as stimulated renewal, which required the stimulus of government intervention to encourage private investment (Jones, 1966; Smith, 1990). This involved any one or combination of the following: 1) conservation of healthy neighbourhoods; 2) rehabilitation of declining neighbourhoods; and/or 3) redevelopment of areas experiencing irreversible blight (Smith, 1990). Conservation policies were aimed at arresting the onset of decline in its early stages. Rehabilitation and redevelopment were policies applied to seriously blighted areas. The urban renewal program was viewed by some to have had a significant negative impact on the neighbourhood's physical and social environment. Concerns arose when not only dilapidated houses were bulldozed, but when many salvageable structures were expropriated and demolished in favour of new housing (Sanders, 1980; Smith, 1990). When urban renewal involved large scale private redevelopment, many long time residents, often renters, could not afford the increased cost of the new housing and were forced to move to other districts (Hodge, 1986). Many of the remaining residents, having lost much of their social support network, expressed little attachment to their new surroundings (Clay, 1979; Sanders, 1980). Hence, urban renewal planning, particularly when it involved redevelopment, was perceived as being deficient in that it lacked a social conscience (Jacobs, 1961; Teaford, 1990). This stigma seriously damaged the image of urban renewal planning. As a result, in 1968 the Canadian government cancelled its urban renewal aid programs and called on planners to reappraise the need for stimulated renewal.

Despite its shortcomings, urban renewal planning incorporated some important concepts for future community planning. Urban renewal succeeded in focusing government, private, and academic attention to the problems facing ageing inner city neighbourhoods (Hodge, 1986). In addition, urban renewal planning demonstrated the need for municipalities to develop community plans. As a result of the urban renewal experience, continued planning efforts to alleviate inner city housing problems attracted greater regard for the social component and physical character of the existing urban form. Interestingly, as Geddes originally argued in the 1880s, the practice of housing restoration, preservation, and rehabilitation became central considerations in Canadian neighbourhood renewal policy. In Rossdale's case, the plan to renew the neighbourhood contained objectives aimed at historic preservation and housing rehabilitation. Building on the experience of the urban renewal program, modern day neighbourhood plans, such as Rossdale's 1986 Area Redevelopment Plan, are more cognisant of the social impact of public and private renewal. To complete the paradigm shift, the term revitalization emerged in the late 1960s to replaced the unpopular term urban renewal (Filion, 1987).

2.7 Inner City Neighbourhood Revitalization

During the 1970s, inner city studies focused on the deterioration of the physical environment, overall demographic decline, and the flight of the middle-class to the suburbs (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975; Bunting and Filion, 1988). In the late 1970s, a new spirit emerged among many that viewed inner city neighbourhoods as desirable places to live (Clay, 1979). Throughout the 1980s many geographers and planners have researched the revival of these core neighbourhoods, in particular the process of revitalization (Ley, 1988; London and Palen, 1984).

The term revitalization literally means to restore life or vitality to something that is no longer as vital as it once was (Smith, 1990). The term is widely used in urban studies literature to refer to an improvement in housing and the quality of urban neighbourhoods (Bourne, 1981; Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). In the context of the inner city neighbourhood, revitalization connotes several processes working to reverse urban decline and to restore the living environment to a good quality (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975; Vardy, 1986). Neighbourhood revitalization may also be characterized by changes to existing land use patterns and population composition (Rosenthal, 1980; London and Palen, 1984). In the literature, terms like gentrification, renewal, regeneration, and rehabilitation are often applied interchangeably to describe inner city revitalization (McGibbon, 1990). For the purpose of this thesis the term revitalization is used to denote any improvements to Rossdale's physical structure and change to its socio-economic composition. The type of revitalization activity and outcome may vary considerably depending on the participants involved. Those involved in residential revitalization are generally characterized in the literature to be participating in one of two processes: gentrification or incumbent upgrading (Clay, 1979; London and Palen, 1984; McGibbon, 1984). These two processes distinguish the participants involved in the revitalization activity and help to describe and explain the changes to the neighbourhood's socio-economic and physical structure.

2.7.1 Gentrification and Incumbent Upgrading

The purpose of this section is to operationalize the terms gentrification and incumbent upgrading, and to identify the socio-economic and physical indicators differentiating these two inner city revitalization processes. For ease of comparison the two processes are dealt with simultaneously throughout this section. However, this is not to suggest that other styles of inner city revitalization do not exist. On the contrary, an essential component of this research framework is the documentation and interpretation of cases of inner city revitalization that are not envisaged within the strict definition of gentrification or incumbent upgrading. Table 2 provides a summary of the indicators distinguishing gentrification and incumbent upgrading which have been accepted for thesis purposes.

The term gentrification was originally coined by Ruth Glass to describe changes to some of London's lower income neighbourhoods in the 1960's (Smith, 1979). Glass used the term to described a process involving the middle-class acquisition of homes in

ageing working class neighbourhoods for the purpose of restoring them to elaborate homes of distinction. The term *gentry* was used by Glass to describe the upper social status newcomer, and also to depict British social stratification patterns of the time (London and Palen, 1984). Since Glass's original characterization, gentrification has become the most researched and published component of inner city revitalization (Bunting and Filion, 1988). For example, Maher (1974), Bourne (1981), Bunting (1987), Caulfield (1994), Ley (1981), Smith and McCann (1981), and Spragge (1983) all describe gentrification, or alternative terms, such as white painting, up-filtering, and brownstoning, as an urban process involving settlement into ageing inner city neighbourhoods by higher status groups, who restore the housing stock at great personal effort and expense. Therefore, in the strict sense of the definition, an indicator of gentrification is any physical improvement to a neighbourhood's original housing stock by higher status newcomers to the neighbourhood.

Incumbent upgrading also involves change to the physical environment as housing rehabilitation is undertaken by long term residents, usually moderate income, homeowners (Bunting, 1987; Smith and McCann, 1981; Millward, 1988). However, unlike gentrification, incumbent upgrading does not involve "any significant change in the socio-economic status or characteristics of the population" (Clay, 1979, p.7). Incumbent upgrading is a component of revitalization that largely avoids social disruption and residential displacement (Millward and Davis, 1986). Despite this, planners and researchers have not given this very significant upgrading process much attention in the literature on inner city revitalization (Vardy, 1986; Bunting, 1987; Millward and Davis, 1986). Renovation activity by incumbents involves housing improvements which serve to enhance the neighbourhood's vitality. Therefore, physical improvements to a neighbourhood's existing housing stock is also an indicator of incumbent upgrading. Being able to distinguish whether improvements to an area's housing stock is the result of gentrification or incumbent upgrading depends on the definition of a long-term resident. Given the subjective nature of such a definition, a universal one has not been agreed upon. Having said that, Millward and Davis (1986), while establishing stability of residence in their study of housing renovations in Halifax, defined long-term residents as those who had lived in the neighbourhood for 10 or more years. For thesis purposes, this definition was used to identify the number of long term residents living in Rossdale prior to its 1986 *Area Redevelopment Plan*. That is, Rossdale residents who had lived in the neighbourhood since before 1976 were classified as long term residents, and were thus potential incumbent upgraders. In Rossdale's case this definition is appropriate because it avoids mislabelling early gentrifiers as incumbents. McGibbon's (1984) research, which found social upgrading activity occurring in Rossdale in the late 1970s, supports this argument.

Incumbent upgrading and gentrification can also be distinguished by examining the socio-economic composition of those participating, although caution should be observed when applying specific socio-economic indicators universally. Nevertheless, incumbent upgrading, by definition, does not alter the socio-economic composition of the neighbourhood. Research from the United States (Clay, 1979) and Canada (Bunting, 1987, Millward and Davis, 1986; and Phipps, 1983) specify the following socio-economic indicators common to those participating in incumbent upgrading: (1) family

TABLE 2

Gentrification and Incumbent Upgrading: Physical and Socio-Economic Indicators

Indicator of Neighbourhood Change		Type of Revitalization Activity	
		Gentrification	*Incumbent Upgrading*
Social and Economic Characteristics	Education	higher than average	lower than average
	Occupation	professional, white collar	working class, blue collar
	Neighbourhood Household Type	two adults, with or without children	two adults with children
	Neighbourhood Population size	increasing	little change
	Age of Participants	mainly young adults	middle aged and older couples
	Residential Mobility Rates	increasing	little change
	Housing Ownership rates	increasing	little change
	Housing and Land Values	rapidly increasing	gradually increasing
Physical Characteristics of the Neighbourhood and Neighbourhood Housing	Neighbourhood Housing Stock	good quality but in need of minor or major repairs	modest quality but in sound condition; minor repairs
	Type of Housing Improvement	major repairs/renovations; redevelopment (new)	minor repairs/renovations
	Neighbourhood Size	smaller than average	average
	Architectural Character of Housing	distinctive	eclectic
	Neighbourhood Age	older than average	average
Situational Characteristics	Neighbourhood Historical Significance	important	not important
	Financial Aid Programs	not important	very important
	Neighbourhood Location	inner city; access to CBD, university, hospital	not centrally located; family orientated neighbourhoods
	Proximity to Environmental Amenity	very important	not important

orientated with dependent children; (2) lower educational attainment; (3) blue collar workers with modest incomes; and (4) long term residents.

Those participating in gentrification reveal a much different socio-economic profile. Findings from study after study, both in Canada and the United States, consistently profile gentrifiers with remarkable similarity. For thesis purposes the following socio-economic indicators are used to identify those participating in gentrification: (1) young couples (25-40 yrs old); (2) mainly childless; (3) well educated; (4) white collar professionals with high occupational status; (5) dual income households with an above average household income (Ley, 1981, 1988; Palen and Nachimias, 1984; Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981; Bunting and Filion, 1991; Rosenthal, 1980; McGibbon, 1984; Clay, 1979; Bunting, 1987; Bunting and Phipps, 1988). Gentrification, as a component of inner city revitalization, is caused by upward social mobility resulting in an influx of highly educated professionally employed couples to the neighbourhood.

However, some researchers consider that the original definition of gentrification stated by Glass, and still widely used by others, does not cover the full range of revitalization processes occurring in North American inner cities (London and Palen, 1984; Ley, 1991). As a result, for many the meaning of gentrification has evolved to encompass a broader range of socio-economic and physical activities. First, for example, gentrification does not primarily involve the arrival of newcomers from outside the inner city area, as originally described by Glass. Although the term 'back-to-the-city' was popularized by municipal politicians to attract business and residential interest to core areas, it has little basis in fact. Most studies have found that inner city neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification are attracting newcomers primarily from within the inner city (Baldassare, 1984; Bunting and Filion, 1988; Cicin-Sain, 1980; Gale, 1980; Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981; Lang, 1982; Ley, 1991; Palen and London, 1984).

Second, while researchers have found that gentrification does involve upward social mobility, evidence suggests that many of the participants during the early stages of gentrification are marginally middle-class at best (Ley, 1991; Palen and London, 1984). For example, Rose (1984) and Millward (1988) classify the first wave of higher social status newcomers as marginal or partial gentrifiers denoting their limited financial resources. These newcomers cannot afford to invest in large scale home improvements, consequently they invest 'sweat equity' by making only minor repairs through do-it-yourself renovations to their property. Filion (1987) found that many newcomers to gentrifying neighbourhoods were university graduates attracted to the cosmopolitan lifestyle and advantages of a central location. Those participating in the early stages of gentrification possess some of the attributes of gentrifiers, such as education, but not others, such as high occupational status. Despite their modest incomes, the initial gentrifiers contribute significantly to the revitalization process as they help to redefine the character of the district, which serves to attract others of greater economic means and higher socio-economic status (Ley, 1991). Furthermore, it has been discovered that the typical family status of gentrifiers may also be changing. Recent studies by Dantas (1988) and Ley (1987 and 1992) have found increasing numbers of older couples and couples with children participating in gentrification.

Third, Ley (1981 and 1991) argues that the definition of gentrification should not be limited to the renovation of the existing older housing stock as Glass originally identified. Ley cites several accounts of Canadian gentrification that include redevelopment and/or infill housing of single or multiple unit dwellings, as in the case of Don Vale in Toronto (Ley, 1991), Plateau Mount-Royal in Montreal (Ley, 1991), and Kitsilano and Fairview Slopes in Vancouver (Ley, 1981; Mills, 1987). In contrast to *development*, new construction on previously undeveloped land, *redevelopment* is defined as replacement of existing structures within an already built urban area (Bourne, 1981, p. 27). *Infill housing*, as applied here, is a form of redevelopment wherein which new single or multiple unit housing is built on scattered vacant property within an already built and established urban area. Ley states that whether the dominant process is renovation or redevelopment, gentrification results in upward movement in a neighbourhood's social status by "a well educated and dominantly childless population of young professional households" (Ley, 1991, p. 330). He defines social status as a combination of two measures: (1) increasing percentage of neighbourhood residents with at least some university education; and (2) increasing percentage of neighbourhood residents employed in professional, managerial, technical and administrative occupations (Ley, 1992 and 1995). This study applies a broadened definition of gentrification in order to interpret the physical and socio-economic changes occurring in Rossdale's revitalization. Therefore, gentrification, in addition to renovation activity, may involve redevelopment and infill housing by higher social status groups containing couples in a child bearing or later stage of life cycle.

Inherent in the definition of gentrification and incumbent upgrading are three additional indicators of neighbourhood change. Gentrification results in increased residential mobility, a sharp rise in the cost of land and housing, and an increase in home-ownership rates. According to Kary (1988) and Ley (1992) the price of housing in some cases of gentrification, such as Don Vale in Toronto and Fairview Slopes in Vancouver, can double in one or two years. Consequently, home-ownership rates in gentrifying neighbourhoods increase while the average length of residency decreases. Residential mobility rates reflect neighbourhood population change, which is measured by the number of years a resident has lived at his/her dwelling. For thesis purposes, neighbourhoods experiencing an increase in the number of residents having lived in their home for less than 5 years are classified as experiencing increased residential mobility rates. The increased cost of housing in gentrifying neighbourhoods generally precludes the rental market, thus the number of home-owners increases. By comparison, areas undergoing incumbent upgrading experience little change in residential mobility or home-ownership rates (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). They may experience increases to housing and land costs though at a much slower rate than gentrifying neighbourhoods.

Researchers have also discovered that certain neighbourhood physical attributes tend to be more suitable for gentrification than incumbent upgrading. For this reason some researchers, such as Milward and Davis (1986), claim that the two processes are not likely to co-exist within the same neighbourhood. In a synthesis of the available United States data on revitalization, Rosenthal (1980) compiled a list of 5 locational factors associated with inner city gentrification. He concluded that gentrification is more

likely to occur in the following: (1) neighbourhoods centrally located and close to the central business district with access to mass transit facilities; (2) neighbourhoods which have received historic designation or close to areas of historic significance; (3) neighbourhoods in which there is good housing stock available, or houses that despite their present condition were originally built for the middle and upper classes; (4) neighbourhoods which are close to natural amenities, such as ravines or water fronts; and (5) neighbourhoods which have access to infrastructure amenities, such as schools, libraries and hospitals. Similarly, Ley (1991 and 1992) identified 6 locational attributes most often present in gentrifying neighbourhoods in Canada. He concluded that gentrification is most likely to occur in the following: (1) larger major cities; (2) small areas of the city centrally located; (3) areas in close proximity to existing elite areas; (4) neighbourhoods with distinctive residential architecture; (5) areas near a major university or hospital; and (6) areas in close proximity to an environmental amenity, such as parkland or waterfront.

The physical attributes of neighbourhoods undergoing incumbent upgrading are somewhat different. Of the research conducted to date, Philip Clay's (1979) work on incumbent upgrading is cited by most researchers (Vardy, 1986). Clay's (1979) findings were drawn from a 1977 survey of thirty large American cities where upgrading was believed to be occurring. Clay found the following physical indicators common to neighbourhoods undergoing incumbent upgrading: (1) generally newer neighbourhoods than their gentrified counterparts (between 50-75 years old); (2) an eclectic or twentieth-century architectural style; (3) modest quality housing stock, but in sound condition; (4) usually associated with some form of public infrastructure improvements; and (5) less likely to contain environmental or locational amenities.

Clay also found other situational factors usually associated with incumbent upgrading, one of which was the escalating cost of city-wide land and housing. Clay argues that the majority of a city's population are modest income earners who cannot afford the high cost of new suburban housing, and as a result upgrade their existing homes as an alternative within their means. A second factor necessary for incumbent upgrading is a neighbourhood confidence to confront urban decline through private reinvestment. If residents do not perceive that their home improvements will maintain neighbourhood stability, they may not risk the financial investment. A third and related factor Clay cites as influencing incumbent upgrading pertains to the reduced rate of in-migration by blacks and other minority groups into the city. This is often perceived by incumbents to enhance neighbourhood stability, and therefore serves to instil confidence to reinvest in their property. The final factor affecting incumbent upgrading is the availability of institutional or government funding for residential upgrading. Clay cites financial assistance programs as being crucial in motivating some incumbents to upgrade their homes.

Accounts of Canadian incumbent upgrading tend to support Clay's findings. Bunting (1987), Millward and Davis (1986), and Phipps (1983) state that the following physical and situational characteristics are most likely to be associated with incumbent upgrading: (1) affordable housing; (2) housing of sound quality; (3) a generally plain and unadorned housing style; (4) not generally located adjacent to areas of high social status; (5) not close to parks or other environmental amenities; (6) greater likelihood to be near public housing projects; (7) others in the area were also investing in their homes;

(8) typically in blue collar areas; and (9) greater likelihood if financial aid or incentive programs are available.

Perhaps the best evidence of incumbent upgrading in Canada came as a result of the national Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) initiated in 1973 by the Ministry of Urban Affairs in Ottawa (Hodge, 1991). This program was designed to assist municipalities to "improve streets, parks, community centres, and other public services and facilities in older neighbourhoods to stem the tide of decay" (Goldberg and Mark, 1985, p. 36). If residential areas were identified by NIP as needing upgrading, "homeowners could receive grants and loans to repair and improve their dwellings" (Hodge, 1991, p.257) through the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) (Goldberg and Mark, 1985). These two programs were very popular and quite effective. For example, while researching housing renovations in Halifax, Millward and Davis state that "the NIP-RRAP combination has clearly been successful in promoting incumbent upgrading" (Millward and Davis, 1986, p. 154). It is for this reason that incumbent upgrading is a form of stimulated renewal (Smith, 1990). In light of the physical and situational indicators normally associated with incumbent upgrading, and given the study area's size, location, housing condition, and age, it was not anticipated that this type of revitalization activity would be found to be occurring in Rossdale.

2.7.2 Gentrification: Life Cycle and Lifestyle Locational Considerations

Life Cycle and lifestyle are important considerations to those participating in inner city revitalization, particularly for gentrifiers who are newcomers to the neighbourhood. Understanding the relationship between the urban structure and lifestyle preferences and life cycle needs is important for identifying and classifying revitalization sub-processes. The literature consistently profiles gentrifiers as couples without children, in their mid twenties to mid forties, who value a cosmopolitan lifestyle associated with inner city living. "Lifestyle refers to the way people want to live, and the people with whom they wish to associate" (Yeates, 1990, p. 167). Yeates identifies four lifestyle values affecting residential location choices:

1. *Familism* describes a situation in which an individual places a high value on the unity of the family and its function as a mechanism for propagation and socialization of the young.
2. *Careerism* emphasizes upward mobility, the gaining of material benefits, consumerism, desire for responsibility, and a need to be noticed.
3. *Localism* describes a situation in which one's interests are limited to people residing in a well-defined local area, and one's attitudes and behaviours are, in many respects, subservient to the norm accepted within the neighbourhood.
4. *Cosmopolitanism* the opposite of localism, implies a value system that emphasizes the absence of control and the freedom to experience ideas and behaviours from anywhere.

(Yeates, 1990, p. 167).

The suburbs, according to Yeates, are neighbourhoods suited for a familism lifestyle, whereas localism is a style of living more often associated with working class and/or

ethnic neighbourhoods. People opting for a careerism type lifestyle tend to locate in exclusive suburbs and affluent apartment complexes where exclusive social interaction is fostered. Cosmopolitan lifestyles, often used to describe the lifestyle preference of gentrifiers, are found primarily in the core areas of larger metropolitan centres where people place value on cultural experiences and fashionable trends. According to Sabourin, many gentrifiers make location decisions based on lifestyle preferences by "opting for an urban amenity package" (Sabourin, 1994, p.264).

Intertwined with lifestyle considerations affecting residential location, are changes to an individual's or family's life cycle. Rossi's (1980) work on residential mobility patterns revealed that intraurban moves are mainly attributed to changing requirements for housing space as families go through their life cycle. According to Hayter "stage in family life cycle refers to the temporal position of a person in the sequence of childhood, pre-marriage, marriage, childbearing, and later life" (Hayter, 1973, p. 2). Table 3 indicates the average age of husband, location preference, and family size of each household stage described by Hayter. This is important in interpreting locational decisions based on the housing need for each life cycle stage. For example, the pre-child stage, often used to describe gentrifiers, consists of young married couples who are childless and thus more flexible in their residential location decisions. These households prefer the amenities of a central location. During the child-bearing life cycle stage, most families contain dependent children and require larger housing accommodations near schools and community facilities. During the child-rearing and child-launching stages, households opt for a suburban location to accommodate their 'familism' lifestyle. In the postchild stage households tend to retain their existing living space as upkeep and maintenance are not yet burdensome. However, recent trends show that many couples and

TABLE 3

Changes in Residence

Related to Changes in The Adult Life Cycle

Stage of Family Cycle	Age of Husband	Locational Preference	Family Size
I. Pre-child (constant size)	23-24	Centre City	2
II. Child-bearing (expanding size)	25-34	Middle and Outer Rings of Centre City	3-4
III. Child-rearing (constant size)	35-44	Periphery of City or Suburbs	4
IV. Child-launching (declining size)	45-51	Suburbs	4-3
V. Postchild (constant size)	52-64	Unlikely to Move	2.5-2
VI. Widowed	61-72(Age of Wife)	Widow takes up Residency in Home of Grown Child	1

Source: Hayter, 1973

singles in this stage of their life cycle are attracted to condominium style bungalows or townhouses fashionable in today's adult communities. In the widow stage, seniors remain in their dwelling units until it becomes necessary to move to a complex that offers assistance in basic life services.

Residential location decisions often represent a sacrifice in lifestyle preference in order to accommodate life cycle needs. For gentrifiers, revitalizing inner city neighbourhoods accommodate both their lifestyle preferences and their life cycle needswithout compromising one for the other.

2.8 Summary

The traditional concepts of population and land use succession, although still relevant in Rossdale's case, are based on natural forces of supply and demand. Rossdale's natural cycle of growth and decline was truncated by Edmonton's parkland acquisition policy, thus subjecting the neighbourhood to planning blight and the devastating effects of public and private disinvestment. However, in 1983 the City of Edmonton decided to reverse the parkland acquisition policy and allow residential land use again. In doing so the City encouraged private reinvestment in Rossdale. Although Rossdale experienced an unnatural cycle of growth and decline, the condition of its housing stock in 1983 might be consider by Andrews to be entering a late decline phase. According to Andrews (1971) private reinvestment can stem neighbourhood decline even in the later stages of a neighbourhood's life cycle. Smith and McCann (1981) suggest that new growth in a neighbourhood's late decline stage may be the result of either incumbent upgrading or gentrification.

In relation to inner city revitalization, Ley (1991, 1992, and 1995) recognizes redevelopment as a form of gentrification that reverses neighbourhood decline. This was the case in Rossdale where the level of physical deterioration amid vacant lots required a revitalization approach heavily dependent on new construction. The result was Rossdale's 1986 Area Redevelopment Plan. In order to realize the goal of creating an attractive and dynamic urban environment as represented in the ARP, neighbourhood revitalization would require public upgrades and substantial private sector reinvestment in the form of redevelopment and infill housing.

This section outlined several socio-economic and physical indicators differentiating incumbent upgrading from a broadened definition of gentrification. In Chapter 4 these indicators are used to identify and interpret the level of neighbourhood change found to be occurring in Rossdale's revitalization.

CHAPTER 3
Research Methods

3.0 Research Methods

The research methods adopted for the study were based on four criteria: appropriateness, effectiveness, feasibility, and acceptability of attainable results (Chapin and Kaiser, 1985). The method selected must be appropriate to meet the intended purpose of the study. The method employed in this research is a case study analysis, which was chosen because it is one of the most comprehensive research methods employed to describe and explain phenomena occurring in a study area (Babbie, 1973). Since case study analysis is used to describe and explain specific situations, caution should be exercised not to over-generalize findings or use the findings to explain universal patterns. However, by comparing the findings in this case study to similar case studies, patterns can be detected and compared to empirical and theoretical accounts of inner city revitalization.

Effectiveness is understood to involve applying methodology which is theory grounded, logical, and comprehensive. Selected theoretical and conceptual accounts of inner city change as related to inner city revitalization provide the theoretical base for this study. Rossdale was a logical case study choice for the analysis of revitalization simply because the neighbourhood had undergone significant physical change over a relatively short period, from 1986 to 1992.

The feasibility criterion relates to the availability of information required to undertake the analysis. Relevant data must be identified and be accessible within the time limits defined by the scope of the study. In this case, studying Rossdale's revitalization was a feasible project. Data were readily available from a variety of sources and complemented by a self-administered questionnaire survey. The study area was small enough to be manageable, the boundaries of the study area were well defined, and the time frame was long enough to capture significant changes to the neighbourhood.

The process of identifying data and other relevant material for the study began with a review of pertinent literature. Data were collected from civic and federal censuses, relevant planning documents, field surveys, and a questionnaire survey.

The acceptability criterion relates to feasibility in that the data must be both available and credible. Civic and federal census data as well as other government publications are considered credible sources. At the time of data collection, December 1992, results of the 1991 federal census were not available, nor would they be available in time for the original target completion date of this study; April 1994. Therefore, it was necessary to design and administer a questionnaire survey (see Appendix 1) to collect pertinent neighbourhood socio-economic data which to compare to data derived from earlier civic and federal census material. The method employed in the administration of the questionnaire guaranteed a high response rate.

Satisfying the requirement of evaluation is not always easy, and no single method of evaluation can ensure error-free research techniques. Rossdale is no exception as certain difficulties in acquiring data of a sensitive nature slightly reduced the overall

effectiveness of the study. For example, survey questions relating to income (number 7) and personal views regarding neighbourhood changes (numbers 16 and 17) were not used in the analysis. The majority of respondents did not indicate their household income as asked in Question number 7. Similarly, the majority of respondents did not complete Questions 16 and 17. These questions solicited a personal opinion regarding neighbourhood changes resulting from revitalization. Perhaps the problem here was not the nature of the questions but rather the time required to respond since the majority of surveyed respondents simply left questions 16 and 17 blank. Question 14 was also excluded from the analysis for inconsistency in responses and lack of response. This question asked respondents to select, from a list in Question 13, the 3 most important reasons for moving to Rossdale. When comparing the responses given in Question 14 with those given for Question 13 it was apparent that many of the respondents did not understand Question 14. Many others indicated that they had already provided the same information in Question 13 that was asked for in Question 14, and left Question 14 blank.

3.1 Discussion of Data Sources

Prior to the planned completion of this study, the 1991 federal census became available. As a result, some specific data collected in the 1992 Rossdale Survey was replaced by the more reliable and comparable data from this census. For this reason data from the Rossdale Survey were excluded in the evaluation of change to Rossdale's population, residential mobility and residential occupancy rates. However, data from the 1992 Rossdale Survey were used to measure other indicators of neighbourhood change, e.g., data relevant to the measurement of some of the changes to the neighbourhood's physical and socio-economic character resulting from its revitalization.

Neighbourhood Fact sheets, which summarize a neighbourhood's physical and socio-economic structure, were also used in the analysis. Some of the questions from the 1992 Rossdale Survey were designed to yield data directly comparable to the data from the Neighbourhood Fact Sheets. Therefore, certain data derived from the 1992 Rossdale Survey was compared with the 1983 and 1987 Rossdale Neighbourhood Fact Sheets. The Rossdale enumeration area was not chosen for this study because its boundary include parts of Edmonton's downtown and thus misrepresents Rossdale's neighbourhood demographics. The 1992 City of Edmonton civic census provides city-wide averages of selected indicators of socio-economic change. Similarly, a Rossdale summary report, based on 1992 civic census data, was used to assess socio-economic change in Rossdale.

However, summary reports reveal only basic information pertaining to a particular neighbourhood, and thus have limited utility. An advantage of the 1992 Rossdale Survey was that it allowed a comparison of North and South Rossdale's development activity. It also enabled the analysis of socio-economic characteristics of newcomers to the neighbourhood, i.e., it was possible to determine the social status of newcomers residing in houses built after 1986 in South Rossdale. This information is not available in civic or federal census material. Civic and federal census material is also limited to quantifiable measurements. For example, it is not possible to measure the reasons why newcomers choose to move to Rossdale. The design of the 1992 Rossdale Survey enabled qualitative information to be gathered.

Since policy changes allowing development in Rossdale were not approved until 1983, and not formally adopted until 1986, analysis of the study area begins with data from 1981 census material. Data from the 1981 census were used to profile the neighbourhood prior to its revitalization, while the 1986 census material was used to identify the early stages of revitalization. Census data for 1991 were used in conjunction with the 1992 Rossdale Survey to build Rossdale's neighbourhood profile as it revealed substantial revitalization activity. The 1992 Rossdale Survey was also used to evaluate the socio-economic status of residents who moved to Rossdale between 1976 and 1986. To better understand the relative magnitude of certain socio-economic changes occurring in Rossdale's revitalization, 1992 City of Edmonton civic census data were used. However, civic census data do not include education level or occupation type, the two indicators used in this study to determine neighbourhood social status change.

Education and occupation data for Rossdale were available in Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profiles (Statistics Canada, 1986 and 1991). The most useful spatial attribute of these profiles is that they conform to the neighbourhood boundaries as specified by the host municipality. Federal neighbourhood profiles have been published only since 1986. Therefore, this study combines education and occupation data from the 1986 and 1991 federal neighbourhood profiles to complement information collected in the 1992 Rossdale Survey. Federal census material was also used as a reference guide to classify occupations for the 1992 Rossdale Survey. In the 1981 Federal census occupations are broken down into 23 major groupings (see Appendix 2). This classification system, combined with level of education data, has been used by Ley (1988, 1991, 1992, and 1995) to identify neighbourhood social status change.

In addition to demographic data, information relevant to the recent history of the study area's land use was also collected. City of Edmonton Neighbourhood Fact Sheets (City of Edmonton, 1983 and 1987) provided this information. Other relevant land use data were derived from an array of municipal documents, such as The Edmonton *General Municipal Plan* (City of Edmonton, 1980), *An Urban Design Strategy for Rossdale* (City of Edmonton, 1986e), and the *Rossdale Area Redevelopment Plan* (City of Edmonton, 1986a). These planning documents helped to assess the changes to the neighbourhood's land use pattern.

Interpreting the type of data from federal and civic censuses, as well as other government documents, was instrumental in the preparation of the 1992 Rossdale Survey. The design of the questionnaire was shaped by pertinent information gathered from the review of literature on inner city revitalization. The review found that certain social and economic characteristics were generally associated with inner city revitalization. Hence, the survey was designed to identify if these characteristics were present in Rossdale's revitalization. The literature review and conceptual framework identified several indicators which clearly distinguished gentrification from incumbent upgrading. When comparing these indicators to specific information gathered on the study area, such as its population and physical size, deteriorated housing stock, central location, and river valley situs, it became clear that incumbent upgrading was not likely to be a major contributor to the neighbourhood's revitalization. Findings from a March 1992 field survey of Rossdale's housing conditions supported this assumption.

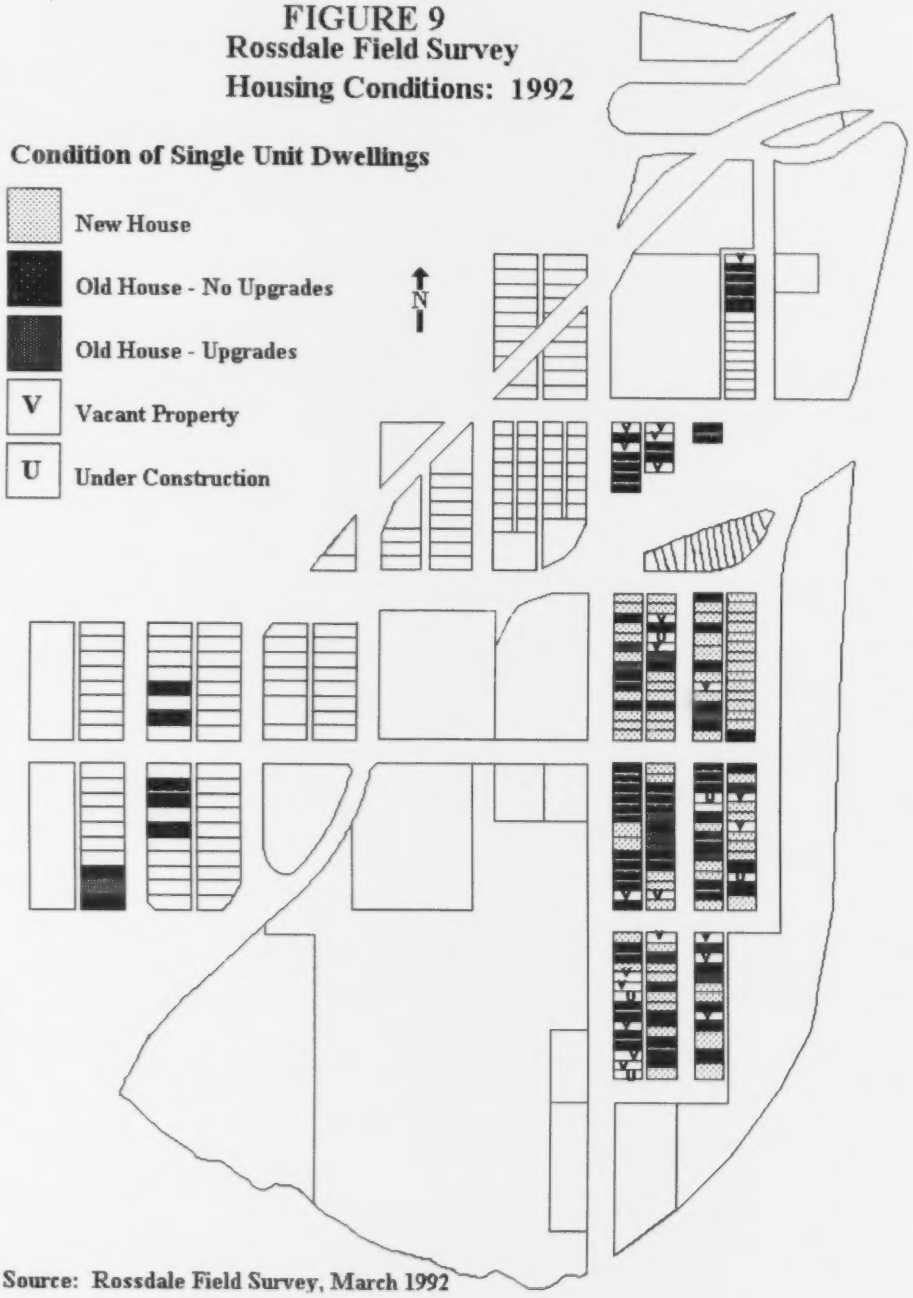
The purpose of the field survey was to classify Rossdale's housing into one of four categories: old house with no upgrading, old house with signs of some upgrading, new house, or new house under construction (Figure 9). An old house showing signs of upgrading was classified as such if one of the following three conditions was observed during the field survey: new windows, new roof, or new exterior finish (siding or paint). Results of the field survey reveal that of the 169 single unit dwellings only 13 (7.7%) of the older houses showed signs of upgrading. Eighty-five (7.7%) of the older houses showed no sign of upgrading. Since incumbent upgrading involves physical improvements to the existing housing stock it was apparent that the occurrence of this type of neighbourhood revitalization was minimal. The field survey also revealed that 71 (42%) of the 169 single unit dwellings in Rossdale were new houses. In addition, the field survey identified other new construction in the form of multiple unit dwellings. Given the large amount of new housing it was clear that Rossdale's revitalization involved large scale redevelopment. It also became clear that the physical form of Rossdale's revitalization was a response to the severe level of housing deterioration present, a consequence of years of planning blight. Based on information from the literature review and the field survey, design of the 1992 Rossdale Survey focused on capturing the changes to the neighbourhood's socio-economic structure, particularly the socio-economic structure of newcomers.

The field survey also provided an opportunity to become familiar with the neighbourhood and its boundary. As a result, it was clear that the penetration of arterial roads in Rossdale resulted in three distinguishable sub-sections (Figure 5). The field survey was most valuable because it was apparent that Rossdale's revitalization had taken a different physical form in each of the three sub-sections. In the North, new development was mainly restricted to townhouses; in the South, new development was primarily single detached housing; and in the West, there was no new development. Because of these differences, the 1992 Rossdale Survey was administered separately to each of the three sub-areas. This allowed changes to Rossdale's socio-economic structure to be examined for each sub-section.

Due to the relatively small size of the neighbourhood, the 1992 Rossdale Survey was administered to all households in each sub-section. In total, 332 occupied household dwellings were surveyed, excluding vacant apartments, houses under construction, and vacant houses for sale. Successfully completed questionnaires totalled 221 or 66.6% of Rossdale's households. The breakdown of surveys distributed and collected for North Rossdale were 38 out of 50 (76% rate of return), for South Rossdale were 122 out of 157 (78% rate of return), and for West Rossdale were 61 out of 124 (49% rate of return). The lower rate of return in West Rossdale reflect difficulties encountered while surveying Rossdale's only high rise apartment building. The owner and building manager would permit the distribution of the questionnaires only through tenant mail boxes in the front lobby. Only 14 out of 62 questionnaires (23% rate of return) were returned for the high rise.

Aside from the high rise apartment, the author personally distributed and collected the survey schedule to each Rossdale household to ensure a high rate of return. It was believed that a personal approach was the best way to explain what the research was

FIGURE 9
Rossdale Field Survey
Housing Conditions: 1992



Source: Rossdale Field Survey, March 1992

about and to reassure residents that any information they provided was confidential. Also, the neighbourhood had been bombarded two months earlier with electoral pamphlets and brochures from those seeking municipal office. A personal approach prevented misinterpretation of the questionnaire as political propaganda. It was felt that the presence of an eager, yet tactful graduate student would provide the incentive for most households to complete the questionnaire. Between 6:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m., for the first week of December, 1992 survey questionnaires were delivered to each household and respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire prior to pickup one week later. From a master control sheet containing the addresses of all occupied households, questionnaire collection and refusals were carefully monitored.

At the time the Rossdale Survey was administered, December 1992, considerable new housing development had taken place since the original March 1992 field survey. As a result, a second field survey documenting the neighbourhood's current land use was completed. By combining information from a 1990 Rossdale Neighbourhood Fact Sheet, planning documents, and the March 1992 field survey, a December 1992 land use map was produced. This map is compared with the land use map contained in Rossdale's 1987 Neighbourhood Fact sheet for the purpose of analyzing and interpreting Rossdale's land use change between 1987 and 1992.

CHAPTER 4
Analysis of Rossdale's Physical and Socio-Economic Changes 1981 - 1992

4.0 Introduction

The literature review and conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2 established incumbent upgrading and a broadened definition of gentrification to be the main processes associated with inner city residential revitalization. Chapter 2 also presented specific background information regarding the study area that, when combined with information derived from the March 1992 field survey, indicates that Rossdale is a genuine case of inner city revitalization. Evidence from the field survey also pointed to the probability that gentrification was the major process involved. It was also revealed in Chapter 2 that the urban form resulting from gentrification has distinct spatial and social patterns. In order to determine the extent of gentrification occurring in Rossdale between 1981 and 1992, this chapter presents an analysis of the study area in the context of selected physical and socio-economic indicators of neighbourhood change. Evaluation and interpretation of improvements to Rossdale's physical structure is determined by examining infrastructure and streetscape improvements, changes in land-use patterns, and changes to the neighbourhood's housing stock. Socio-economic change is analyzed by focusing on Rossdale's population composition, that is its age structure, household type, social status, and resident mobility. Change in the number of owner occupied homes is also explored as well as land and housing prices. The last section of the chapter provides an assessment of the life cycle needs and lifestyle preferences of recent movers to the neighbourhood, which reveals the differences between revitalization in North and South Rossdale.

4.1 Change in Rossdale's Physical Structure

Alterations to the physical environment are indicators of neighbourhood change. The physical environment of an urban neighbourhood is distinguishable from undeveloped rural areas, or from agricultural land, by its structures and infrastructure (Hodge, 1991). Typically, a residential neighbourhood's physical environment, in addition to its infrastructure, contains some combination of residential, commercial, institutional, and recreational or open space land uses. In a residential area the exact pattern of land use reflects housing and activity needs of neighbourhood residents (Hodge, 1991). In the case of Rossdale's revitalization, the new physical form, including housing, is an expression of the goals and objectives of the Area Redevelopment Plan (ARP). Consequently, the ARP helped to shape the neighbourhood's revitalization which resulted in substantial change to the area's land use. As revealed in Chapter 2, part of Rossdale's ARP involved infrastructure upgrades and streetscape improvements. According to the literature, public sector investment in a revitalizing neighbourhood often stimulates private sector activity (Clay, 1979; Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975; Keirnan, 1987: Ley, 1988; Bunting and Filion, 1988). This is true in the case of Rossdale, where public initiatives triggered a surge of private sector reinvestment. This section describes the physical changes involved in Rossdale's revitalization resulting from public and private investment.

4.1.1 Infrastructure and Public Area Improvements

The field survey provided information on above-ground physical improvements. As stated in Chapter 2, the City committed $2.1 million for local area public improvements in Rossdale between 1986 and 1989. However, according to Mr. Blair Sibbald (Sibbald, 1996), Project Manager for the River Valley Development group at the time, capital improvements totalled approximately $800,000.00 between 1986 and 1989. Mr. Sibbald reported that the bulk of the expensive upgrades, water and sewer related, were not high priority improvements and thus were not completed until 1992. According to Sibbald, the City placed strong emphasis on upgrading the area's parks, trails, and streetscape to foster the neighbourhood's new image. The photographs of key features illustrate examples of public initiatives resulting from Rossdale's capital improvements project. Given the difficulty associated with an examination of below-grade improvements, it is taken at face value that utility upgrades adhered to acceptable standards.

Photograph 2 shows infrastructure and streetscape improvements at 96 Avenue and Rossdale Road, the main entrance to the neighbourhood. Infrastructure improvements here include new curbs and pavement. As part of the streetscape improvements, the brick and iron gates were designed to welcome residents and visitors to the area (City of Edmonton, 1986d). At the base of the new gates are wooden benches which serve to foster the area's park and recreation theme as specified in the 1986 ARP. Additional improvements, as seen in Photograph 3, include new handicap accessible sidewalks finished at each end with fashionable interlocking brick. In this example, the snow covered boulevard adjacent to the new sidewalk contains new sod, planted trees, and old-fashioned street lamps. Photograph 4 is an example of a viewpoint development included in the streetscape improvements. This type of improvement was part of Park and Recreation's beautification project which included decorative iron fencing anchored by brick columns, complemented with old-fashioned lamp posts, colourful planted trees and shrubs, and park benches. This built amenity provides residents and river valley park users a place to meet, rest, and socialize. Other viewpoint areas allow a more private appreciation of the calm and tranquil atmosphere the river valley offers, as illustrated in Photograph 5. Photograph 6 shows a portion of the Capital City Recreation Park in Rossdale. The trail runs parallel to the North Saskatchewan River and is used for biking, jogging, and walking.

The fashionable streetscape improvements were designed to create a new community image, an attractive urban environment, and to foster private revitalization activity. The following section examines Rossdale's neighbourhood land use change by comparing the neighbourhood's land use for 1987 and 1992.

4.1.2 Change in Land-Use Pattern

By comparing Figures 10 and 11 changes in Rossdale's land use pattern between the years 1987 and 1992 can be measured in fine detail.

Photograph 2. Rossdale's Main Entrance: Example of streetscape and infrastructure improvements including new curbs, sidewalks, brick and iron gages, and park benches

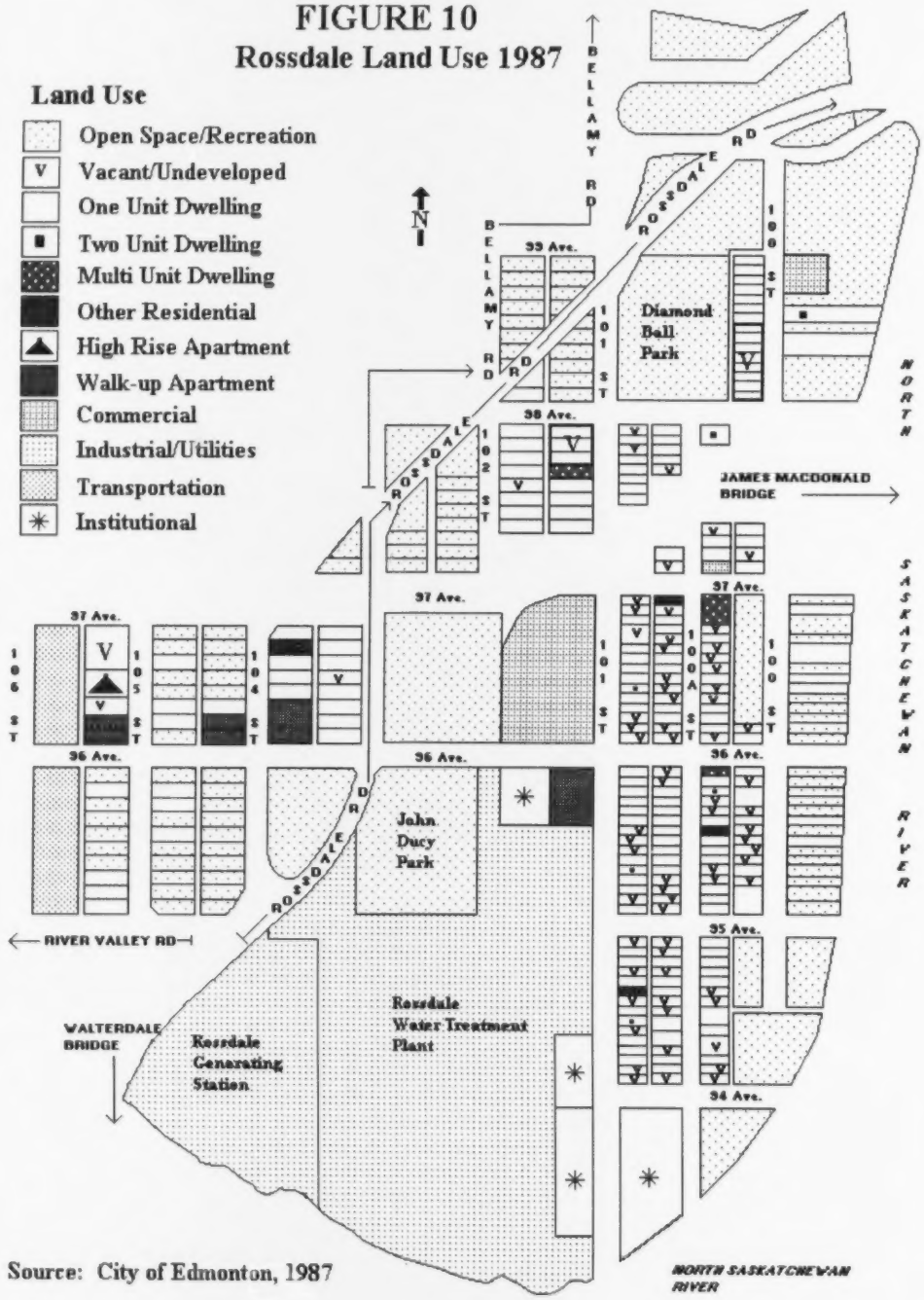
Photograph 3. Residential Street: Other streetscape improvements including new sidewalks, planted trees, and old fashioned street lamps.

Photograph 4. Park and Recreation Beautification Project: A Rossdale View Point.

Photograph 5. Park and Recreation Beautification Project: River Valley View Point in Rossdale.

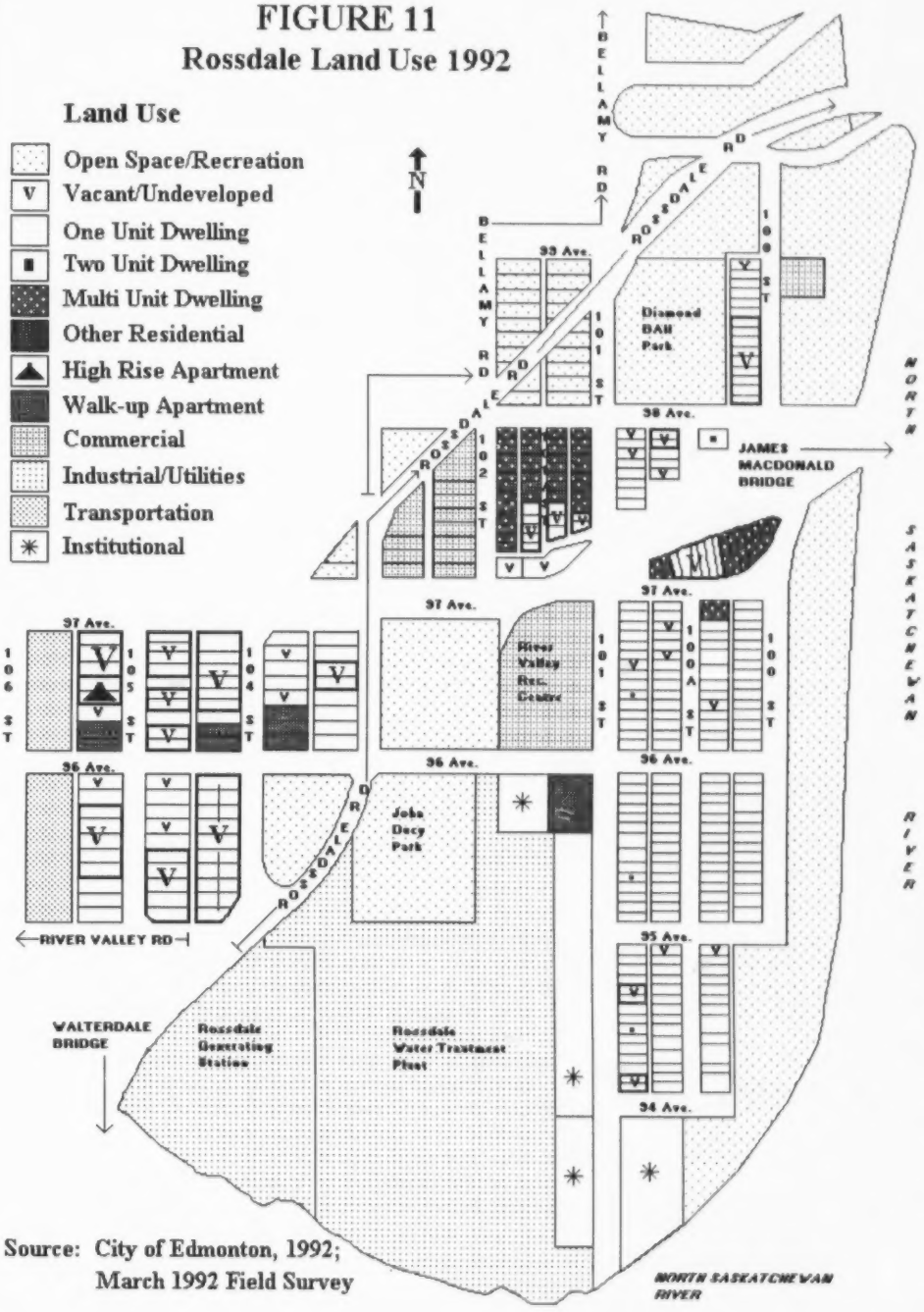
Photograph 6. Capital City Park Improvements

FIGURE 10
Rossdale Land Use 1987



Source: City of Edmonton, 1987

FIGURE 11
Rossdale Land Use 1992



Source: City of Edmonton, 1992;
March 1992 Field Survey

Rossdale's revitalization resulted in significant changes in the neighbourhood's land use pattern, particularly in South and North Rossdale. West Rossdale, which remained a special study area, experienced only minor land use changes. For example, Figure 11 shows two vacant lots in West Rossdale that were classified in 1987 as single unit dwellings. This indicates that the structures formerly occupying these lots were removed. Similarly, a West Rossdale lot classified in 1987 as "other residential" is also shown as being vacant in 1992. A land use classification change in West Rossdale also occurred between 1987 and 1992. In 1987, all of West Rossdale's vacant residential lots west of 104 Street were classified as open space/recreation. However, in Rossdale's 1990 Neighbourhood Fact sheet, as represented in Figure 11, these lots are classified as being vacant/undeveloped. Although no explanation for this is provided in Rossdale's ARP, it may be that this area is now deemed suitable for future redevelopment.

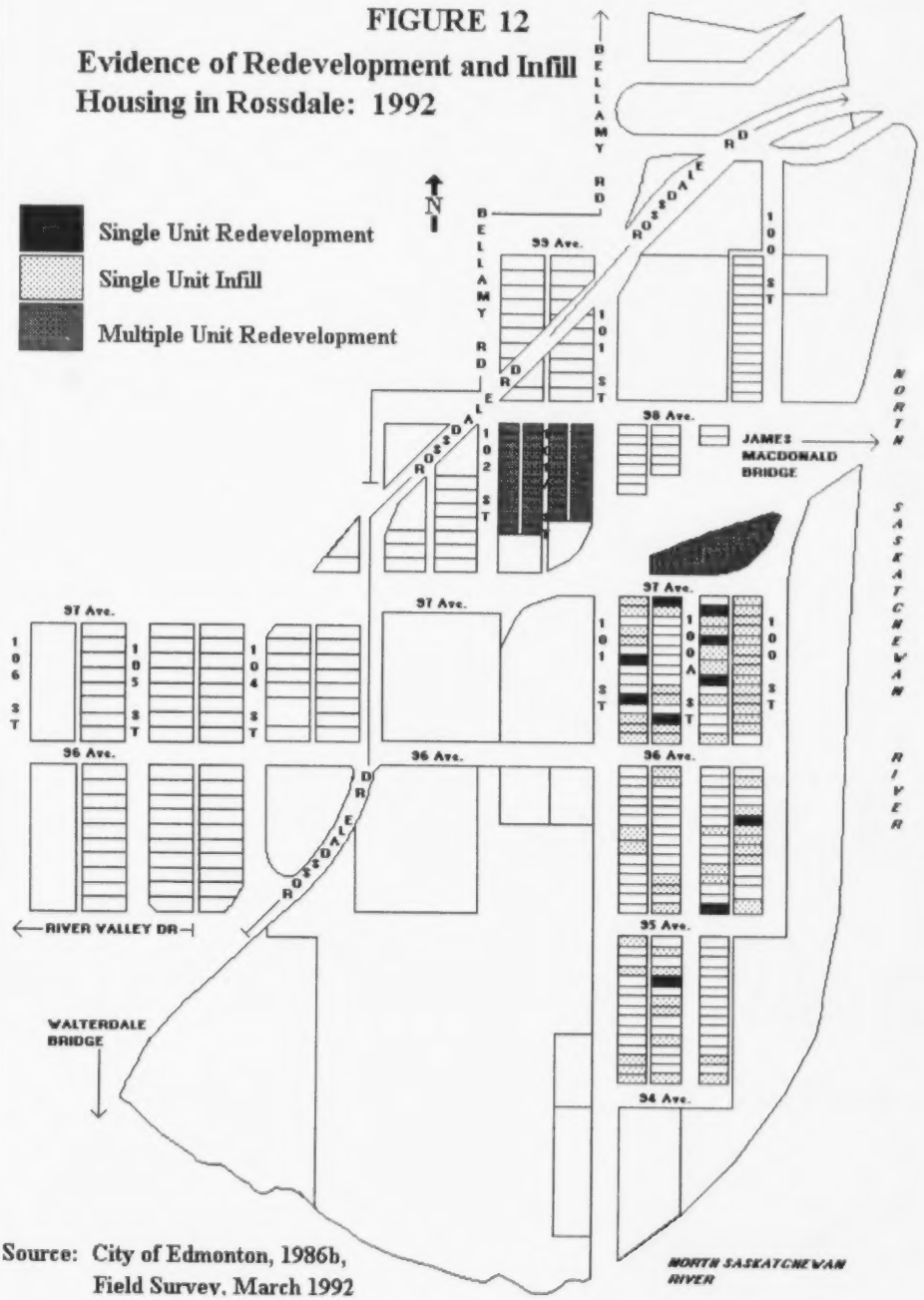
In South Rossdale the old pattern of residential land use, particularly single unit housing, was intensified through redevelopment and infill housing on vacant and occupied lands. The number of vacant residential lots decreased from 65 in 1987, to 16 in 1992. The number of single unit dwellings increased from 82 in 1987, to 142 in 1992. The discrepancy in these numbers is a result of 13 new single unit dwellings built on the west side of 100 Street between 96 and 97 Avenue, land formerly classified in 1987 as open space/recreational. In the early 1900s this parcel of land contained a mix of residential and industry related uses before its buildings were removed and the land reserved for parkland. Its latest land use change to single detached housing is an example of redevelopment through infill housing, a characteristic of revitalization in Rossdale. Single unit dwellings in 1992 on residential lots indicated as vacant in 1987 are also examples of redevelopment through infill housing. Figure 12 shows the extent of the new infill housing that had occurred in Rossdale between 1986 and 1992. The data contained in Figure 12 was extracted from a land use map created during a 1984 survey of the neighbourhood (City of Edmonton, 1986b, p. 19 and p. 34), and from the March 1992 field survey. Photograph 7 is an example of new single unit dwellings common in South Rossdale's revitalization. It is important to note the distinctive architectural style of the new homes, which according to the literature, is an attribute typically associated with gentrification.

Data collected from the March 1992 field survey (refer to Figure 9) indicated that some renovations to the exterior of 12 older homes had also occurred in South Rossdale. Photograph 8 is an example of this type of residential revitalization. However, this type of activity has not altered South Rossdale's land use pattern. Furthermore, as stated in the discussion of data sources, evidence of rehabilitation of the existing housing stock was not wide-spread and thus deemed inconsequential relative to the level of redevelopment taking place.

Evidence of new single and multiple unit redevelopment, that is replacement of existing structures within an already established urban area (Bourne, 1981), in South and North Rossdale is shown on Figure 12. Figure 12 also reveals that 10 old single unit dwellings were replaced with new single detached houses in South Rossdale. Although redevelopment in this case has not altered the area's land use, it is significant because it represents Rossdale's particular style of revitalization. Figure 12 also reveals multiple unit redevelopment on land formerly occupied by single unit dwellings. In North

FIGURE 12

Evidence of Redevelopment and Infill Housing in Rossdale: 1992



Source: City of Edmonton, 1986b,
Field Survey, March 1992

Photograph 7. Distinctive Architectural Style of South Rossdale's New Housing Stock

Photograph 8. Example of Restoration to Existing Housing Stock

Rossdale this type of redevelopment occurred on the parcel of land located between 101 and 102 Street, and between 97 and 98 Avenue. In South Rossdale multiple unit redevelopment occurred in the area bordered by the James MacDonald Bridge and 97 Avenue, and between 100 Street and 101 Street. The subdivision layouts in both cases were changed to accommodate the new intensified use. For example, in North Rossdale the existing lots were resubdivided and a new street, 101A Street, built between 97 and 98 Avenues. In South Rossdale the number of lots in the subdivision increased and the layout changed so that the lots front 97 Avenue. The new multiple unit development in South Rossdale resulted in 6 single unit dwellings removed to accommodate the new higher density use; 15 semi-detached 2 1/2 storey town house units, as shown in Photograph 9. Similarly, in North Rossdale's new multiple unit development, 10 single unit dwellings were demolished in favour of 47 semi-detached two storey town house units. Photograph 10 is an example of the architectural style of North Rossdale's new multiple unit dwellings. In both South and North Rossdale, parts of the old single unit residential land use have been outbid by a new and more intensive residential land use.

Further comparison of Figures 10 and 11 reveals that another form of land use succession occurred in Rossdale, this time involving a decrease in land use intensity. The area affected is generally east of 100 Street between Rossdale Road and 94 Avenue. In 1986, just prior to Rossdale's revitalization, this area still contained seven single unit dwellings and one two unit dwelling. In keeping with the vision of Rossdale's ARP, these structures were removed in favour of parkland, a less intensive land use. This parcel of land is designated as a metropolitan recreation district and is part of Edmonton's Capital City Park. It is used for recreation and leisure activities for all City residents.

The last land use reclassification interpreted from Figures 10 and 11 involves the land between 102 Street and Rossdale Road north of 97 Avenue. This area's land use was classified in Rossdale's 1987 Neighbourhood Fact sheet as open space/recreation. In Rossdale's 1990 Neighbourhood Fact sheet, as represented in Figure 11, this area's land use is classified as commercial. Contained in this area is the old Ortona Armoury and Gymnasium building which is used as a special interest facility and light commercial centre. The building has been noted as having historic significance by the Edmonton Historical Board (City of Edmonton, 1986a) and is to be included in the site's commercial redevelopment. This site has not actually experienced a land use change, but has been designated as such to accommodate certain objectives contained in the Rossdale ARP.

From the changes in Rossdale's land use pattern between 1987 and 1992, it is apparent that some of the neighbourhood's emerging land use patterns reflect a succession and intensification of land uses. The findings derived from Figures 10, 11, and 12 also reveal that the majority of the neighbourhood's land use changes are the result of redevelopment and infill housing. It is therefore determined that the impact Rossdale's revitalization has had on the neighbourhood's land use is consistent with inner city gentrification, as broadly defined in Chapter 2. The following sections evaluate the socio-economic changes resulting from Rossdale's revitalization to determine if indeed gentrification is the primary process involved.

Photograph 9. New Multiple Unit Development in South Rossdale

Photograph 10. New Multiple Unit Development in North Rossdale

4.2 Population Change

Chapter 2 revealed that changes to a revitalizing neighbourhood's population composition are an outcome of gentrification. By identifying and evaluating population change occurring in Rossdale's revitalization, the extent of gentrification can be interpreted. Three measures of population change are used for this analysis: (1) age composition; (2) household type; and (3) population mobility. The findings contained in this section document the changes to Rossdale's population structure between 1981 and 1992.

4.2.1 Change in Rossdale's Age Composition

According to Kalbach and McVey (1971), one of the most fundamental aspects of a population is its age composition. They state that at any given time a population's age structure helps to explain past, present and future trends in fertility, migration, and mortality. Neighbourhood fertility and migration patterns can provide insight into the type of revitalization activity taking place. According to the literature, gentrification results in a neighbourhood's population structure increasing for the age group 25-40 and decreasing for the over 65 group. Also, gentrifying neighbourhoods typically experience reduced fertility rates as newcomers are mainly childless. The purpose of this section is to examine and compare the age structure of Rossdale for the years 1982, 1986, and 1992. The goal is to identify and interpret changes in the neighbourhood's population composition related to the process of gentrification.

Table 4 shows Rossdale's age composition for the years 1981, 1986, 1991, and 1992. The age structure for the City of Edmonton for 1992 is also included as a point of reference to better understand the population changes occurring in Rossdale's revitalization. Data depicting Rossdale's age structure for 1981 are from the City of Edmonton District Planning Program Information Reports, as derived from McGibbon's (1984) research. Data for the years 1986 and 1991 are extracted from Statistic Canada Neighbourhood Profiles (1986 and 1991). Rossdale's age distribution for 1992 is derived from a Neighbourhood Summary Report (City of Edmonton, 1992a). The 1992 City of Edmonton age structure data comes from the City of Edmonton's 1992 civic census (City of Edmonton, 1992).

One of the most significant findings from Table 4 is the rapid increase in Rossdale's total neighbourhood population between 1981 and 1992. In 1981, Rossdale's population consisted of 340 people. The age groups 20-35 were strongly represented, whereas the groups containing children under 15 years of age were under-represented. Between 1981 and 1986 Rossdale's population increased by 115 (33.8%) people, an indicator substantiating neighbourhood revitalization. The population of the 0-4 and 5-9 age groups remained stable in 1986, while the10-14 group dropped sharply. It is interesting to note that many of the 0-4 group and none of the 5-9 group from 1981, are represented in the 1986 data. From these data it is impossible to know if these children, and their care givers, were displaced as a result of gentrification, or if they left the neighbourhood for other reasons. Regardless, this group of Rossdale's population was altered. The majority of population growth between 1981 and 1986 was to the age groups 20-24, 25-34, and

35-44. However, the last four age groupings also experienced population increases, which indicates that Rossdale attracted adults from all age groups. In 1986 the age group 0-4 is strongly represented which may signal a family orientated style of gentrification occurring in Rossdale, although it is uncertain if these children are the offspring of newcomers or long term incumbents of the area.

TABLE 4

Rossdale's Population Distribution by Age Groups: 1981, 1986, 1991, 1992; and City of Edmonton's Population Distribution by Age Groups: 1992

Age Groups	Age Distribution for Rossdale's Population								City of Edmonton Age Distribution	
	Year 1981*		Year 1986		Year 1991		Year 1992**		Year 1992	
	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*
0-4	16	*4.7*	15	*3.3*	40	*6.6*	42	*6.4*	47,843	*7.7*
5-9	5	*1.5*	5	*1*	10	*1.6*	12	*1.8*	44,332	*7.2*
10-14	11	*3.2*	0	*0*	5	*0.8*	6	*0.9*	38,205	*6.2*
15-19	17	*5*	20	*4.4*	30	*4.9*	17	*2.6*	38,524	*6.2*
20-24	49	*14.4*	75	*16.5*	70	*11.5*	75	*11.5*	55,961	*9.1*
25-34	108	*31.8*	145	*31.9*	190	*31.1*	190	*29.1*	126,703	*20.5*
35-44	44	*12.9*	70	*15.4*	120	*19.7*	146	*22.3*	99,780	*16.1*
45-54	22	*6.5*	35	*7.7*	70	*11.5*	80	*12.2*	60,567	*9.8*
55-64	33	*9.7*	40	*8.8*	35	*5.7*	41	*6.3*	48,291	*7.8*
65-74	27	*7.9*	40	*8.8*	25	*4.1*	29	*4.4*	35,515	*5.8*
75 & over	8	*2.4*	10	*2.2*	15	*2.5*	16	*2.5*	22,474	*3.6*
Total Pop.	340	*100*	455	*100*	610	*100*	654	*100*	618,195	*100*

Source: City of Edmonton, 1992 and **1992a; *McGibbon, 1984; Statistic Canada Neighbourhood Profiles, 1986 and 1991; and 1992 Rossdale Survey.

Compared to the data for 1986, substantial changes occurred in several age groupings in 1991 and 1992. The 25-34 and 35-44 age groups experienced the largest increase in numbers since 1986. The number and percentage of people between 55 and 75 years decreased slightly between 1986 and 1992, whereas the number and percentage of people over 75 years of age remained basically unchanged. By 1992 Rossdale experienced a significant increase in the number and percentage of the 0-4 age group. Furthermore, Rossdale experienced sizeable population growth to its 15-19 age group between 1986 and

1991. It can be concluded that since there were no residents represented in the 10-14 age group in 1986, the 30 people representing the 15-19 age group in 1991 were newcomers to the neighbourhood.

When compared to 1992 City of Edmonton age groupings, Rossdale's age groupings in 1992 suggest that gentrification may be occurring. In each of the first four age groups, and the last three age groups, Rossdale's population is under represented compared to City averages, although the percentage of the 0-4 group is very close. The age groups 20-24, 25-34, 35-44, and 45-54 are over represented in Rossdale. The changes to Rossdale's population age structure, between 1986 and 1992, are consistent with the broadened definition of gentrification presented in Chapter 2.

4.2.2 Change in Household Type

Like age composition, change in a neighbourhood's household type also indicates the type of revitalization activity taking place. Gentrification alters the household types in neighbourhoods experiencing revitalization as the proportion of young couples without children greatly increases.

Table 5 shows the number and percentage of household types in Rossdale for the years 1983, 1987, and 1990. Data for 1983 were derived from the Rossdale Neighbourhood Profile Report (City of Edmonton, 1986b). City of Edmonton Neighbourhood Fact sheets are the source of information for the years 1987 and 1990. The 1992 Rossdale Survey is the source of data for Rossdale's household types for 1992. The 1986 and 1991 Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profiles do not break down information on household types into the same categories as shown in Table 5, and thus were not used.

Findings from 1983, 1987, and 1990 indicate that the largest proportion of household types were consistently single adults and two adults. Between 1987 and 1990 the number and percentage of two adult households increased significantly. Likewise, the number and percentage of two adult households with children showed sizeable gains. Changes in these household types indicate that revitalization in Rossdale has attracted adult couples, many of whom have children. The reader is reminded that data derived from the 1992 Rossdale Survey reflects a 66.6 % response rate. As stated in the discussion of data sources, the survey results were under-represented in West Rossdale due to the low response rate from the area's only high rise. As a result the percentages shown in Table 5 for household types based on the 1992 survey are somewhat distorted and are not as reliable as the percentages indicated for household types in 1983, 1987, and 1990. For example, the absence of the majority of high rise households most likely account for the lower percentage of single adult households and the higher percentage rates for two adult households and two adult households with children. However, the survey results regarding the number of two adult households and two adult households with children increased compared to the 1990 data. The increasing numbers of these household types is significant because they confirm that Rossdale's gentrification is continuing to attract adult couples and adult couples with children. These findings are similar to recent gentrification patterns involving a large number of families with children identified by Dantas (1988) and Ley (1992).

TABLE 5

Rossdale's Household Types: 1983, 1987, 1990, and 1992

Household Type	The Number and Percentage of Household Types in Rossdale							
	Year 1983*		Year 1987		Year 1990**		1992 Rossdale Survey	
	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*
Single Adult	135	*46.3*	138	*52.5*	142	*48.3*	67	*30.4*
Single Adult With Children	4	*1.3*	5	*1.9*	4	*1.4*	9	*4.1*
Two Adults	94	*32.3*	73	*27.8*	90	*30.6*	92	*41.8*
Two Adults With Children	27	*9.2*	24	*9.1*	30	*10.2*	34	*15.5*
More Than Two Adults	27	*9.2*	21	*8*	23	*7.8*	14	*6.4*
More Than Two Adults With Children	1	*1.7*	2	*0.8*	5	*1.7*	4	*1.8*
Total Households	288	100	263	100.1	294	100	220	100

Source: City of Edmonton, *1986b, 1987, and **1990b; and 1992 Rossdale Survey.

4.2.3 Change in Residential Mobility

As an indicator of neighbourhood stability, mobility refers to the migration of an individual from one place to another. Gentrification significantly affects the pattern of residential mobility as its participants are newcomers to the area. The population base is in transition, and as such, the gentrifying neighbourhood is considered to be somewhat unstable.

Table 6 displays Rossdale's residential mobility rates for the years 1983, 1987, 1990, and 1992. For perspective, the City of Edmonton's 1992 residential mobility rates are also displayed. The source of data for residential mobility rates for 1983 are derived from a Rossdale Neighbourhood Profile (City of Edmonton, 1986b). City of Edmonton Neighbourhood Fact sheets are the source of data for mobility rates for the years 1987 and 1990. Since Rossdale's residential mobility rates for 1992 were available in the 1992 Edmonton civic census, data from the 1992 Rossdale Survey is not used. The residential mobility rates for the City of Edmonton for 1992 were also calculated from the 1992 Edmonton civic census.

The length of residency in Rossdale in 1983 indicates a stable population base with 41% of its residents having lived in the neighbourhood for five or more years. In 1987, one year after the neighbourhood's ARP, the rates for those residents living in the neighbourhood for 5 or more years decreased, while the rates for newcomers to the area (less than 1 year) slightly increased. By 1990, the number of people residing in Rossdale

for 5 or more years decreased to 120, or 21.4% of the neighbourhood's total. Based on the 1992 civic census data, the percentage of Rossdale's population that had lived in the neighbourhood for less than 5 years was 83.5%. When compared to City of Edmonton residential mobility rates for 1992, it is clear that Rossdale's high rates reflect a very unstable population base; a consequence of large scale gentrification.

TABLE 6

Rossdale's Population Residential Mobility Patterns: 1983, 1987, 1990, and 1992; and City of Edmonton Population Residential Mobility Pattern: 1992

Length of Residency at Same Dwelling	Rossdale's Population Mobility Patterns								1992 City of Edmonton Mobility Pattern	
	Year 1983*		Year 1987		Year 1990		Year 1992**			
	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*
5 or more yrs.	218	*41*	176	*38.6*	120	*21.4*	108	*16.5*	253,313	*41*
3-4 yrs.	50	*9*	45	*9.9*	96	*17.1*	178	*27.2*	81,637	*13.2*
1-2 yrs.	117	*21*	96	*21.1*	95	*16.9*	130	*19.9*	153,888	*24.9*
less than 1 yr.	160	*29*	139	*30.5*	250	*44.6*	238	*36.4*	129,357	*20.9*
Total:	545	100	456	100.1	561	100	654	100	618,195	100

Source: City of Edmonton, *1986b, 1987, 1990b, 1992, and **1992a.

Evidence derived from the three measures of population change (age structure, household type, and residential mobility) support the broadened definition of gentrification as presented in Chapter 2. Rossdale residents are young adults (25-40) with or without children who have recently moved to the neighbourhood. Changes to Rossdale's age structure, household type, and residential mobility rates indicate that the neighbourhood experienced population succession. Having established the extent of population change occurring in Rossdale, the following section analyzes the change in ownership patterns, and change in land and housing costs.

4.3 Resident Home Ownership Change and Land and Housing Cost Increases

Two additional indicators of neighbourhood revitalization deal with changes to Rossdale's home ownership rates and the change to land and housing costs. Gentrification involves an influx of new resident home owners into the neighbourhood thereby increasing the home ownership rates. Land and housing costs often experience spectacular increases as well (Ley, 1988).

Table 7 reveals a substantial shift in the percentage of home owners for 1982, 1986, and 1992. Information on Rossdale's residential occupancy rates were available for 1983 in a neighbourhood profile report released in 1986 (City of Edmonton, 1986b). Data for the number and percentage of owners and renters were available for the years 1987 and 1990 from Rossdale Neighbourhood Fact sheets (City of Edmonton, 1990b). The 1992 residential occupancy rates for Rossdale and the City of Edmonton were derived from the 1992 Edmonton civic census. Since the renters in Rossdale's only high rise are under-represented in the 1992 Rossdale Survey, the survey results are not used to evaluate change in Rossdale's residential occupancy. Table 7 shows that Rossdale had extremely high percentages of renters in 1982 and 1987. However, between 1987 and 1992 a completely different tenure pattern emerged. By 1992 the number and percentage of home owners increased to very near the 1992 residential occupancy rates for the City of Edmonton. This sharp rise in home ownership rates is a normal product of large-scale gentrification.

TABLE 7

Rossdale's Residential Occupancy: Owners / Renters: 1983, 1987, 1990, and 1992; and City of Edmonton Residential Occupancy: Owners / Renters: 1992

Tenure of Occupied Dwellings	Rossdale's Residential Occupancy								City of Edmonton Residential Occupancy 1992	
	Year 1983*		Year 1987		Year 1990		Year 1992**			
	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*
Owner	NA	*18*	52	*19.8*	95	*32.1*	151	*43.8*	124,478	*48.2*
Renter	NA	*82*	211	*80.2*	201	*67.9*	194	*56.2*	115,847	*51.8*
Total:	NA	*100*	263	*100*	296	*100*	345	*100*	240,325	*100*

Source: City of Edmonton, *1986b, 1987, 1990, **1992a, and 1992.

Table 8 shows the average purchase price of city-owned houses and vacant lots sold in Rossdale to the private sector between February 1988 and December 1991 (City of Edmonton, 1992b). The average sale price of a house sold between 1988 and 1990 increased from $58,737.00 to $66,863.00, an increase of 14%. The average sale price of a vacant lot increased from $36,733.00 in 1988 to $62,222.00 in 1991, an increase of 69%. In an interview with the neighbourhood's most active real-estate agent, who is also a South Rossdale resident, it was learned that two old South Rossdale houses privately purchased from the city between 1988 and 1990 were re-sold in the summer of 1992 for $102,500.00 (one storey older house) and $149,000.00 (two storey older house) (Bob Wood, 1995). According to Wood, during 1992 five new single unit dwellings in South Rossdale sold for an average of $242,000.00. Escalating land and housing prices in Rossdale is also reflected in the substantial rise in the area's property taxes. According to the 1992 Rossdale Survey, the neighbourhood's average property tax for all dwellings

was $1821.00, compared with $510.00 in 1987 (City of Edmonton, 1987). Clearly, Rossdale's gentrification has resulted in short term skyrocketing property values.

TABLE 8

Rossdale Tender Summary of City Owned Properties: 1988 - 1991

Date of Sale		Average Sale Price of City Owned Properties	
		Houses	Vacant Lots
Year	Month		
-1988-	February	na	$36,733.00
-1988-	September	$58,737.00	na
-1989-	February	na	$47,558.00
-1989-	July	$65,743.00	na
-1989-	September	na	$49,847.00
-1989-	November	$68,261.00	na
-1990-	March	na	$61,165.00
-1990-	July	$66,863.00	na
-1990-	November	na	$58,913.00
-1991-	June	na	$66,439.00
-1991-	December	na	$62,222.00

Source: City of Edmonton, 1992b.

4.4 Social Status Change

The preceding sections show that between 1981 and 1992 Rossdale experienced change to its population composition and resident home ownership. This section analyzes change in the neighbourhood's social status. Gentrification, as stated by Ley (1992), results in upward movement in a neighbourhood's social status. As presented in Chapter 2, social status change is measured by analyzing the changes in the percentage of neighbourhood residents with at least some university education and the percentage of neighbourhood residents employed in professional, managerial, technical and administrative occupations (Ley, 1992 and 1995).

Table 9 presents Rossdale's occupation structure for the years 1986, 1991, and 1992. As well Table 9 contains the City of Edmonton's 1991 occupational structure. The data for Rossdale's occupational status for 1986 and 1991 were available from Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profiles (Statistics Canada, 1986 and 1991). The 1991 Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profile was also the source of information for the occupational structure of the City of Edmonton for 1991. The 1992 Rossdale Survey is used for the neighbourhood's occupational structure for 1992.

TABLE 9

Rossdale's Occupational Structure : 1986, 1991, and 1992; and City of Edmonton Occupational Structure: 1991

Classification Structure of Occupations		Rossdale's Occupational Status						1991 City of Edmonton Occupational Structure	
Major Group Number	Occupation Group Description	Year 1986		Year 1991		1992 Rossdale Survey			
		Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)
11	Managerial Administrative	20	8.3	60	15.2	62	20.7	54,145	11.6
21	Natural Sci. & Engineering	25	10.4	15	3.8	22	7.4	41,430	8.9
23	Social Sciences	0	0	25	6.3	16	5.4		
25	Religion	0	0	0	0	3	1		
27	Teaching & Related	0	0	30	7.6	24	8	20,635	4.4
31	Medicine & Health	20	8.3	0	0	12	4	25,270	5.4
33	Arts, Lit. & Recreation	10	4.2	30	7.6	25	8.4	Included in Groups 21-25	
Sub Total:	**Groups 11-33**	75	31.2	160	40.5	164	54.9	141,480	30.3
41	Clerical	45	18.8	50	12.6	31	10.4	89,545	19.1
51	Sales	10	4.2	50	12.6	33	11	50,095	10.7
61	Service	50	20.8	70	17.7	30	10	64,105	13.7
71	Farming & Horticultural	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	13,615	2.9
73	Fishing & Trapping	0	0	0	0	0	0		
75	Forestry & Logging	0	0	0	0	0	0		
77	Mining & Quarrying	0	0	0	0	0	0		
81/82	Processing	0	0	0	0	3	1	8,210	1.8
83	Machining	0	0	0	0	2	0.7	32,980	7
85	Fabricating & Assembly	20	8.3	20	5.1	4	1.3		
87	Construction Trades	25	10.4	35	8.9	13	4.3	30,515	6.5
91	Transport Equip. Operating	0	0	10	2.5	7	2.3	17,060	3.6
93	Material Handling	0	0	0	0	0	0	na	na
95	Other Crafts & Equipment Operating	0	0	0	0	0	0	na	na
99	Others not Classified	15	6.3	0	0	11	3.7	20,090	4.3
Sub Total:	**Groups 41-99**	165	68.8	235	59.4	124	45	326,215	69.6
Total:	**All Groups**	240	100	395	99.9	288	99.9	467,695	99.9

Source: Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profiles, 1986 and 1991; and 1992 Rossdale Survey

For the years 1986 and 1991, the federal census categorizes occupations into major groups (Statistics Canada, 1981), as described in the discussion of data sources. As used by Ley (1985, 1988, 1992, and 1995), major occupational groups 11 through 33 are used as one measure to assess the level of neighbourhood social status. Increases in these occupational groups denote neighbourhood upward social mobility, an indicator of gentrification. From Table 9 the number of Rossdale residents working in occupational groups 11 through 33 increased from 75 in 1986 to 160 in 1991. This increase represents a 9.3% change in the neighbourhood's occupational structure for these groups. The percentage change recorded in the 1992 Rossdale Survey for occupational groups 11 through 33 is even greater. However, since many of the high-rise residents were not surveyed these percentages are likely too high. Yet the number of occupations in groups 11 through 33 recorded in the 1992 Rossdale Survey are higher than those recorded in Rossdale's 1991 Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profile. Therefore, data from the 1992 Rossdale Survey reveal that the neighbourhood continued to experience increases in the number of people professionally employed in 1992. Conversely, in 1986 Rossdale's fabricating, assembly, and construction related occupations (groups 85 and 87) represented 18.7% of the neighbourhood's occupations. By 1991 these occupational groups represented only 14% of the neighbourhood's occupational structure, a decrease of 4.7%. Compared to the 1991 City of Edmonton occupational structure, Rossdale, in 1991, contained a greater proportion of residents with high occupational status and a smaller proportion of residents with lower occupational status.

The second measure of Rossdale's social status, the percentage of the population with at least some university education, is assessed from the data presented in Table 10. Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profile data were available for the years 1986 and 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1986 and 1991). The 1992 Rossdale Survey is the source of data for 1992. The City of Edmonton's education profile for 1991 was also available from the 1991 Statistics Canada Neighbourhood Profile.

The percentage of Rossdale residents having at least some university education (university no degree and university degree(s)) increased from 22.7 % in 1986 to 43.5% in 1991. The proportion of residents in 1991 who had completed a university degree (26.8%) is twice the city rate. Rossdale's 43.5% of residents with at least some university education is considerably higher than the 23.8% recorded for the City of Edmonton in 1991. In contrast, the percentage of Rossdale residents whose highest level of education was grade 9-12 no diploma and less than grade 9 decreased from 40.9% in 1986 to 12.1% in 1991. The 1991 City rates for this level of educational attainment is much higher at 33.5%. The absolute numbers recorded in the 1992 Rossdale Survey reflect Rossdale's increasing higher educational attainment. Findings from Table 10 demonstrate that Rossdale's population in 1992 is comprised of residents with higher than average educational attainment. This, combined with the neighbourhood's large proportion of residents employed in management, professional and related occupations, clearly indicates that Rossdale's revitalization has resulted in upward social status mobility; an indicator of inner city gentrification.

TABLE 10

Highest Level of Education Attained by Total Population 15 years and older in Rossdale 1986, 1991, and 1992; and City of Edmonton 1991.

Highest Level of Education Attained	Rossdale Neighbourhood						City of Edmonton 1991	
	Year 1986		Year 1991		1992 Rossdale Survey			
	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*
Less Than Grade 9	60	*13.6*	15	*2.8*	10	*2.4*	51,335	*8*
Grade 9-12 No Diploma	120	*27.3*	50	*9.3*	38	*9*	163,755	*25.5*
High School Graduate	30	*6.8*	80	*14.8*	62	*14.7*	83,565	*13*
Trade Certificate	20	*4.5*	30	*5.5*	27	*6.4*	20,965	*3.3*
Other Non University	110	*25*	130	*24.1*	42	*9.9*	169,420	*26.4*
University No Degree	55	*12.5*	90	*16.7*	63	*14.9*	67,720	*10.6*
University Degree(s)	45	*10.2*	145	*26.8*	180	*42.7*	84,415	*13.2*
Total:	440	*99.9*	540	*100*	422	*100*	641,175	*100*

Source: City of Edmonton, 1991; Statistic Canada Neighbourhood Profiles 1986 and 1991; and the 1992 Rossdale Survey.

4.5 Recent Movers Participating in Rossdale's Gentrification

Gentrifiers are new residents to the neighbourhood who are of higher social status and participate in some form of housing improvements. Based on data from the 1992 Rossdale Survey, this section examines two categories of newcomers to North and South Rossdale. The first group of newcomers examined are higher social status participants involved at the very early stages of the neighbourhood's gentrification. These participants have been labelled by some, such as Rose (1984) and Millward (1988), as partial or marginal gentrifiers denoting their financial limitations. In Chapter 2, Rossdale's long term residents were defined as having lived in the neighbourhood before 1976. Using this criterion, marginal gentrifiers in Rossdale are identified as having moved to the neighbourhood between 1976 and just prior to the neighbourhood's ARP in 1986. Therefore, 1992 Rossdale Survey respondents indicating length of residency between 7 and 16 years who own an old home are labelled as marginal gentrifiers. The second group of newcomers examined are also of higher social status but are financially established and join the gentrification process in its later stages; termed here as full-gentrifiers. Therefore, 1992 Rossdale Survey respondents indicating length of residency as 6 or less years who own a new home are classified here as full-gentrifiers. Typically, marginal gentrifiers participate in home repairs and renovations. However, since building permits were not allowed in Rossdale until the implementation of the 1986 ARP, the level of repair completed by marginal gentrifiers is not a factor analyzed in this evaluation.

To determine their population structure and socio-economic status North and South Rossdale's marginal and full-gentrifiers are identified and profiled as a sub-population of the 1992 Rossdale Survey's original respondent total. It is important to recognize the problems associated with using this source of information to profile Rossdale's marginal gentrifiers. First, it is certain that the age structure of Rossdale's marginal gentrifiers (residents from 1976 to 1986) has changed in 1992; and second, it is impossible to know if the education and occupational status of marginal gentrifiers has remained unchanged from 1976 to 1992. Notwithstanding, the information derived from this assessment allows for certain generalizations to be made regarding Rossdale's marginal gentrifiers that contributes to the understanding of those participating in the early stages of gentrification.

4.5.1 Age and Social Status of Rossdale's Gentrifiers

Table 11 displays the age structure of marginal and full-gentrifiers in North and South Rossdale. The data shows that marginal gentrifiers were not attracted to North Rossdale. The age structure of marginal gentrifiers in South Rossdale is consistent with the broadened definition of gentrification accepted for thesis purposes; mainly adults between the ages of 25 and 45, including a sizeable proportion of children. This indicates that a significant number of those who moved to Rossdale between 1976 and 1986, and who still live in the neighbourhood in 1992, are in a family stage of their life cycle. The age structure of full-gentrifiers for both North and South Rossdale are very similar; young and older adults with a large proportion of children. However, full-gentrification in North and South Rossdale reflect distinct patterns. In South Rossdale full-gentrification involved a large number of the 0-4 age group and a very small proportion of participants over 55 years old. In North Rossdale the pattern is reversed; few of the 0-4 age group and a large group over 55 years old. This indicates that full-gentrification in South Rossdale involves participants who are in a family stage of their life cycle, and in North Rossdale people in later stages of their life cycle.

Table 12 displays the social status of marginal and full-gentrifiers in North and South Rossdale. Once again, social status is measured using the same occupational criteria presented in Table 9 and the educational criteria used in Table 10. Full-gentrifiers in North and South Rossdale rank extremely high on both social status indicators. Of the full-gentrifiers responding to the survey, 67.3% had at least some university education in South Rossdale, compared to 58.9% in North Rossdale. Similarly, of the full-gentrifiers indicating their occupation, 69.3% in South Rossdale and 47.4% in North Rossdale worked in a professional, managerial, or related jobs. This indicates that full-gentrifiers participating in Rossdale's gentrification possess high levels of education and occupational status. The data on marginal gentrifiers in Table 12 reveal that these early participants of neighbourhood gentrification also possessed high educational status, 55.6% having at least some university education. However, only 35% percentage of marginal gentrifiers were employed in a professional, managerial, and related occupation, significantly lower than their full-gentrification counterparts. This finding supports the theory that earlier gentrification participants are well educated but are in the early stages of establishing their careers.

TABLE 11

Age Structure of Rossdale's Marginal and Full-Gentrifiers: 1992

Age Groups	Rossdale's Gentrifiers							
	Marginal Gentrifiers (residency between 7 and 16 years)				Full-Gentrifiers (residency for 6 years or less)			
	North		South		North		South	
	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*
0-4	0	*0*	3	*9.4*	1	*1.7*	16	*8.7*
5-9	0	*0*	2	*6.3*	0	*0*	7	*3.8*
10-14	0	*0*	2	*6.3*	0	*0*	8	*4.3*
15-19	0	*0*	1	*3.1*	3	*5.1*	8	*4.3*
20-24	0	*0*	0	*0*	3	*5.1*	9	*4.9*
25-34	0	*0*	4	*12.5*	10	*16.9*	31	*16.8*
35-44	0	*0*	17	*53.1*	18	*30.5*	53	*28.8*
45-54	0	*0*	1	*3.1*	13	*22*	45	*24.5*
55-64	0	*0*	1	*3.1*	9	*15.3*	5	*2.7*
65-74	0	*0*	1	*3.1*	1	*1.7*	2	*1.1*
75 & over	0	*0*	0	*0*	1	*1.7*	0	*0*
Total:	0	*0*	32	*100*	59	*100*	184	*99.9*

Source: 1992 Rossdale Survey

TABLE 12

Social Status of Rossdale's Marginal and Full-Gentrifiers: 1992

Social Status Indicator	Rossdale's Gentrifiers							
	Marginal Gentrifiers (residency between 7 and 16 years)				Full-Gentrifiers (residency for 6 years or less)			
	North		South		North		South	
	No	*(%)*	No	*(%)*	No	*(%)*	Number	*(%)*
Occupational Groups 11-33: Professional, Managerial, and Related.	0	*0*	7 (out of 20 respondents)	*35*	26 (out of 53 respondents)	*47.3*	106 (out of 153 respondents)	*69.3*
Participants with University Degree(s) or University no Degree.	0	*0*	10 (out of 18 respondents)	*55.6*	33 (out of 56 respondents)	*58.9*	99 (out of 147 respondents)	*67.3*

Source: Rossdale Survey 1992.

4.5.2 Life Cycle and Lifestyle Considerations of Recent Movers to Rossdale

One of the most interesting characteristics of gentrification is the motivating forces behind participants' decisions to move to revitalizing inner city neighbourhoods. The literature reveals that gentrifiers make residential location decisions based on any one of several neighbourhood attributes. Centrality, for its access to arts, leisure and cultural experiences, distinguishable housing stock as well as some type of environmental amenity are reasons often given by gentrifiers for choosing to locate in the inner-city. (Ley, 1992). Other significant neighbourhood attributes attracting gentrification include historical significance, and access to hospitals and major service institutions, such as a university. The literature describes the life cycle and family status of traditional gentrification as being adult oriented dominated by childless couples. This section attempts to determine if the life cycle and lifestyle of Rossdale's gentrifiers are typical of inner city gentrification. For this section, gentrifiers are defined as having lived in North or South Rossdale for six or less years, and are resident owners of a house built after 1986. The life cycle and family status of those participating in gentrification is determined through an analysis of North and South Rossdale's household types. Insight into the lifestyle preferences of Rossdale's gentrifiers is provided by an examination of the reasons survey respondents stated for moving to the neighbourhood.

Table 13 contains household type data derived from the 1992 Rossdale Survey. The findings indicate that the majority (51.6%) of gentrifier households in North and South Rossdale consist of two adults. However, 23.2% of gentrifier households in Rossdale contain couples with children. Although the majority of the neighbourhood's gentrification has occurred in South Rossdale, Table 13 reveals that North and South Rossdale's household types vary significantly. For example, 27.9% of gentrifier households in South Rossdale contain couples with children, compared to 11.1% in North Rossdale. Also, 66.7% of gentrifier households in North Rossdale contain two adult families compared with 45.6% in South Rossdale. From this it is clear that gentrifiers in North and South Rossdale are in different life cycle stages. Many gentrifier households in South Rossdale consist of residents in a family stage of their life cycle. This finding is interesting because the literature indicates that familism, couples with children, usually involves a lifestyle preference for the suburbs, which offer safety, schools and recreation facilities, and a greater opportunity for socialization. Yet many couples with children in South Rossdale have opted to forgo the advantages of the suburbs for a cosmopolitan style of life in the inner city. These finding reveal patterns consistent with the broadened definition of inner-city gentrification accepted for this thesis.

In North Rossdale, the vast majority of gentrifier households are adults without children; a typical stage of life cycle for gentrifiers opting for a cosmopolitan lifestyle. North Rossdale also contains a sizeable proportion of gentrifier households in their late adult stage of their life cycle. Traditionally, empty-nesters, couples or singles in their late adult stage with children living away from the home, no longer require a large house and move to a complex that is maintenance free. It is partly for this reason that many late adulthood gentrifiers are attracted to the lifestyle offered by North Rossdale's semi-detached townhouses.

TABLE 13

Gentrifier Household Types in Rossdale: 1992

Household Type	Rossdale's Sub-Areas				North and South Rossdale	
	North Rossdale		South Rossdale			
	Number of Households	(%)	Number of Households	(%)	Number of Households	(%)
Single Adult	3	11.1	4	5.9	7	7.4
Single Adult With Children	0	0	4	5.9	4	4.2
Two Adults	18	66.7	31	45.6	49	51.6
Two Adults With Children	3	11.1	19	27.9	22	23.2
Three or More Adults	3	11.1	7	10.3	10	10.5
Three or More Adults With Children	0	0	3	4.4	3	3.2
Total:	27	100	68	100	95	100.1

Source: 1992 Rossdale Survey

Reasons why gentrifiers were attracted to North and South Rossdale are presented in Table 14. Once again, West Rossdale is excluded because the area did not experience gentrification. Question 13 of the survey asked respondents to rank the list of reasons by importance by indicating if the reason was not important, somewhat important, important, or very important in their location decision. For purposes here, data in Table 14 display the percentage of respondents who indicated a reason was important or very important in their location decision. The total number of responses indicating a reason was important or very important was 231 in North Rossdale, and 788 in South Rossdale. The findings show that 4 reasons were particularly important in motivating North Rossdale gentrifiers to move to the neighbourhood. They are, in order of importance, environmental amenity (river valley), centrality, preference for inner city living, and access to Edmonton's Capital City Park. For South Rossdale, 3 reasons were particularly important in motivating gentrifiers to move to the neighbourhood. They are, in order of importance, centrality, environmental amenity (river valley), and preference for inner city living. It appears that in both North and South Rossdale centrality and inner city river valley living were the main attractions, which according to the literature is not unusual for gentrification. It is surprising that neighbourhood safety is regarded as relatively important in both North and South, which is a neighbourhood attribute normally associated with suburban living. It is also unusual that Rossdale gentrifiers did not place as much importance on the neighbourhood's historical significance or its proximity to the University of Alberta, two neighbourhood attributes which normally attract gentrification. Notwithstanding, it is

clear that the motivating reasons behind the gentrifiers decisions to locate in Rossdale are consistent with the process of gentrification.

TABLE 14
Reasons Stated By Gentrifiers as Being Important or Very Important in Their Location Choice: Rossdale Survey 1992

	Reasons For Moving To Rossdale	Rossdale's Sub-Areas				North and South Rossdale	
		North Rossdale		South Rossdale			
		Number of Responses	(%)	Number of Responses	(%)	Number of Responses	(%)
1	Centrality	28	12.1	93	11.8	121	11.9
2	Proximity to University	7	3	33	4.2	40	3.9
3	Access to Edmonton's Capital City Parks	24	10.4	67	8.5	91	8.9
4	A Preference for Inner City Living	27	11.7	86	10.9	113	11.1
5	Environmental Amenities	31	13.4	89	11.3	120	11.8
6	Neighbourhood Historical Status	5	2.2	36	4.6	41	4
7	Neighbourhood Safety	19	8.2	67	8.5	86	8.4
8	Neighbourhood Facilities - Schools, Churches, etc.	1	0.4	7	0.9	8	0.8
9	Sense of Community	12	5.2	63	8	75	7.4
10	Streetscape Design	16	6.9	60	7.6	76	7.5
11	Architectural Character of Housing	21	9.1	75	9.5	96	9.4
12	Affordable & Available Housing	21	9.1	56	7.1	77	7.6
13	A Financial Investment	19	8.2	56	7.1	75	7.4
Total:		231	99.9	788	100	1,019	100.1

Source: 1992 Rossdale Survey

Also of interest to urban geographers is the migration patterns associated with gentrification. The literature indicates that gentrification involves intraurban moves, particularly from within the inner city. Table 15 categorises the migration patterns of Rossdale's gentrifier households into four types of moves: (1) from within Edmonton's inner city, as defined by Figure 1; (2) from elsewhere in Edmonton, as defined from Figure 1; (3) from rural to urban; and (4) interurban. Once again, West Rossdale is excluded and gentrifiers are identified as having lived in the neighbourhood for six or less years, and are resident owners of a house built after 1986.

TABLE 15
Migration Patterns of Gentrifier Households in Rossdale:
Rossdale Survey 1992

Origin of Move	Rossdale's Sub-Areas				North and South Rossdale	
	North Rossdale		South Rossdale			
	Number of Households	(%)	Number of Households	(%)	Number of Households	(%)
From Inner-City Edmonton[1]	16	*59.3*	41	*59.4*	57	*59.4*
From Elsewhere in Edmonton	5	*18.5*	15	*21.7*	20	*20.8*
From a Rural Area	3	*11.1*	3	*4.3*	6	*6.3*
An Interurban Move	3	*11.1*	10	*14.5*	13	*13.5*
Total:	27	*100*	69	*99.9*	96	*100*

[1] refer to Figure 1 for inner-city boundary

Source: 1992 Rossdale Survey

The migration patterns for North and South Rossdale's gentrifier households are very similar. The findings from Table 15 indicate that the majority (59.4%) of Rossdale's gentrifier households have moved from within Edmonton's inner city. Rossdale's migration pattern of gentrifier households supports the theory that inner city gentrification is not a 'back-to-the-city' movement, but rather a process attracting participants primarily from within the inner city.

4.6 Summary

Taken together, the indicators of neighbourhood change that were applied in the analysis of Rossdale's revitalization have shown conclusively that the neighbourhood between 1981 and 1992 has experienced substantial change to its socio-economic character and physical structure. Rossdale's new land use pattern is an example of public sector reinvestment stimulating private sector revitalization. Given the deteriorated condition of Rossdale's housing stock, and the large number of vacant residential lots, it is not surprising that private sector revitalization took the form of redevelopment and infill housing. The occupants of Rossdale's new homes have significantly raised the neighbourhood's socio-economic status. Rossdale, a declining working class neighbourhood, has been transformed into an elite area containing highly educated adult professionals. The majority of Rossdale's new population consists of adult couples without children. However, Rossdale's particular style of gentrification also involved many young adult couples with children, as well as older adult couples in the late stages of their life cycle. The aggregate findings of all indicators of Rossdale's metamorphosis clearly support the broadened definition of gentrification accepted for this thesis.

The research identified different patterns of gentrification occurring in North and South Rossdale. Rossdale's ARP regulates different land use districts for these two areas reflecting their layout and proximity to arterial roadways, as a result, North and South Rossdale's redevelopment reflect different housing and population patterns. In North Rossdale, new development is restricted to semi-detached townhouse style dwellings, whereas in South Rossdale, detached single unit dwellings are the primary form of new housing. Thus, two distinct gentrification patterns have emerged. First, in South Rossdale, a substantial number of gentrifiers are in a family stage of their life cycle, adult couples with children. Second, a sizeable number of gentrifiers in North Rossdale are found to be in their late adulthood stage of their life cycle. These findings support the argument that inner city gentrification is not just limited to young couples in a childless stage of their life cycle, but rather is a revitalization process involving a wide range of socio-economic patterns.

CHAPTER 5
Conclusion

5.0 Summary and Review of Thesis Objectives

Planning blight in Rossdale resulted from policy restricting the neighbourhood's residential land use in favour of parkland. Consequently, the neighbourhood and its housing stock deteriorated to a severely blighted condition due to decades of public and private disinvestment. The will to revitalize Rossdale started in the late 1970s as a small group of river valley residents organized to protest the City of Edmonton's policy of eliminating their residential community. Due in large part to these initial advocates of neighbourhood conservation, Rossdale's revitalization was eventually realized through the implementation of the neighbourhood's 1986 Area Redevelopment Plan. This plan represented a dramatic change in planning policy for Rossdale. The plan contained policies aimed at creating a new vibrant and dynamic neighbourhood image in efforts to attract a diverse population and a mix of new housing forms. In response to this change in policy, Rossdale began a process of revitalization which involved substantial change to its physical and socio-economic structure. The objectives of this thesis were to identify these changes and to interpret them in light of revitalization theory. This section reviews these objectives related to the findings from the data analysis, followed by conclusions and suggestions for future research.

The first thesis objective, identifying changes in the neighbourhood's social fabric and physical structure, is addressed in Chapter 4. Physical improvements to the neighbourhood reflect public and private reinvestment. Between 1986 and 1992 approximately two million dollars was reinvested by the City of Edmonton to upgrade and improve Rossdale's infrastructure, such as sidewalks, roads, and water and sewer upgrades. But much of the improvements were directed at creating a new image for the neighbourhood to give it an impression of vitality and spirit. The theme of Rossdale's public beautification campaign capitalized on the neighbourhood's most distinctive natural physical amenity, the river valley. Rossdale received a new positive image, as people's perceptions changed to view the area as an attractive neighbourhood.

The public improvements to Rossdale's physical structure were quickly followed by strong private reinvestment, as evidenced by the large amount of new housing construction. It was discovered that Rossdale's revitalization primarily entailed single and multiple unit redevelopment and infill housing. By 1992 the majority of Rossdale's single and multiple unit housing stock had been built since 1986, which also accounts for the sharp increase in neighbourhood housing and land costs.

The socio-economic characteristics of participants involved in Rossdale's revitalization reflect dramatic changes in the neighbourhood's population composition, household type, tenure, and social status. In 1992, the majority of Rossdale residents (83.5%) had lived in the neighbourhood for less than 5 years. Clearly, Rossdale's revitalization has resulted in large scale population change. These newcomers reflect Rossdale's increased home ownership rates and increased social status. The majority of newcomers

were well educated professionally employed young couples without children. However, the findings also indicate that many participating in Rossdale's revitalization were in a family stage of their life cycle, as well as others in the later stage of their life cycle. Regardless of the household type and family life cycle stage, Rossdale's revitalization is an example of massive social status upgrading.

The second thesis objective is realized by interpreting the extent of Rossdale's physical and socio-economic changes in light of revitalization theory. The tendency in revitalization theory is to classify the process as either gentrification or incumbent upgrading. Recent studies on revitalization have found that these two sub-processes do not envisage all the styles of inner city change occurring in Canadian cities. In this light, some, such as Bunting and Phipps (1988), argue that new concepts and classifications are required, while others, such as Ley (1991 and 1992), have opted to broadened the existing classifications to include a wider range of revitalization activities. The evaluation of data presented in Chapter 4 found gentrification to be the dominant process involved. This involved large scale redevelopment and infill housing by higher social status couples with and without children, and by higher social status couples in the later stages of their life cycle. It was also discovered that those participating in Rossdale's gentrification between 1976 and 1986 were of higher social status but in the early stages of establishing their careers. These results, combined with the findings of the other physical and socio-economic indicators of neighbourhood change, clearly indicate that Rossdale's revitalization is consistent with the broadened definition of gentrification accepted for thesis purposes.

The research also found that Rossdale's gentrification was contained in North and South Rossdale only. The Rossdale ARP specifies different land use zoning for these two areas. South Rossdale's residential area, which is bordered on three sides by park and recreational land uses and on the other by the James MacDonald Bridge, is relatively secluded and thus was zoned mainly for single unit dwellings. North Rossdale's residential area, which is surrounded on three sides by high volume arterial roads, was zoned primarily for semi-detached multiple unit development. As a result of these physical redevelopment guidelines, North and South Rossdale's gentrification reflects different social patterns. In South Rossdale, gentrifier households contained a large portion of adult couples in a family stage of their life cycle. Whereas, North Rossdale's semi-detached townhouses attracted a sizeable number of adult couples in the later stage of their life cycle.

5.1 Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

Rossdale represents an unusual case of neighbourhood decline and subsequent recovery. For over a decade planning policy was the chief cause of blight in Rossdale. However, a change in planning policy stemmed the tide of decline and helped to reestablish Rossdale as a vibrant inner city neighbourhood. The Rossdale experience demonstrates that although the natural cycle of neighbourhood growth and decline can be altered by public policy, changes in such policy encouraging private reinvestment can restore a quality living environment. In Rossdale's case, given the advanced state of

physical deterioration, this was achieved primarily through redevelopment and infill housing. It is therefore concluded that Rossdale's particular form of revitalization, redevelopment and infill housing, was in large part a consequence of planning blight. It is further concluded that some of Rossdale's redevelopment involved a change of land use to a more intensive use; evidence of land use succession.

The research discovered that Rossdale experienced significant population change between 1986 and 1992; evidence of population succession. Those participating in Rossdale's revitalization after the implementation of the neighbourhood's 1986 ARP were found to possess higher than average educational attainment and occupational status. The findings also indicate that many of these newcomers were older adult couples and couples with children. From this information it is concluded that Rossdale's revitalization has attracted many in a family stage of life cycle, and others in the late stage of their life cycle. From the evidence presented on newcomers to Rossdale's between 1976 and 1986, prior to the neighbourhood's 1986 ARP, it is concluded that the early stages of gentrification in Rossdale also involved participants possessing higher than average educational attainment, but who were in the early stages of established their careers.

The purpose of this thesis was to gain a greater understanding of the patterns and processes involved in inner city revitalization as revealed through Rossdale's experience. In order to achieve this a broadened and expanded perspective of the theoretical concept of gentrification was required. From the findings presented in Chapter 4 it is concluded that Rossdale's revitalization is an example of an alternative style of gentrification involving new housing occupied by adult couples of all ages including families with children. This conclusion supports the argument to continue to expand current revitalization theory and concepts, where necessary, to accommodate alternative patterns and processes occurring within inner city neighbourhoods.

Having established that public policy greatly impacted Rossdale's decline and revitalization, future research could investigate the implications of the Rossdale experience for future revitalization planning. This would require an assessment of Rossdale's ARP with regard to the social costs and benefits resulting from its implementation. Was planning for private sector large scale redevelopment and infill housing the best option to restore a quality living environment in Rossdale? The answer to this question may be of some use to policy makers planning the revival of inner city neighbourhoods experiencing advanced physical blight. Future research could also examine the effect that housing type, that is single versus multiple unit dwellings, exerts on current inner city gentrification, particularly with respect to socio-economic patterns.

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APPENDIX 1

Standard Occupational Classifications by Major Group and Minor Group

MAJOR GROUP		MINOR GROUP	
Group	Occupation Description	Group	Occupation Description
11	Managerial, Administrative & Related Occupations	111	Officials and Administrators Unique to Government
		113/114	Other Managers and Administrators
		117	Occupations Related to Management & Admin.
21	Occupations in Natural Sciences, Engineering and Mathematics	211	Occupations in Physical Sciences
		213	Occupations in Life Sciences
		214/215	Architects, Engineers and Community Planners
		216	Other Occupations in Architecture and Engineering
		218	Occupations in Mathematics, Statistics, Systems Analysis
23	Occupations in Social Sciences and Related Fields	231	Occupations in Social Sciences
		233	Occupations in Social Work & related Fields
		234	Occupations in Law & Jurisprudence
		235	Occupations in Library, Museum, Archival Science
		239	Other Occupations in Social Sciences ,Related Fields
25	Occupations in Religion	251	Occupation in religion
27	Teaching and Related Occupations	271	University & Related Occupations
		273	Elementary & Secondary School Teaching & Related
		279	Other Teaching and Related Occupations
31	Occupations in Medicine and Health	311	Health Diagnosing & Treating
		313	Nursing, Therapy & Related
		315/316	Other Occupations in Medicine & Health
33	Artistic, Literary, Recreational and Related Occupations	331	Occupations in Fine & Commercial Art, Photography
		333	Performing and Audio Visual Arts
		335	Occupations in Writing
		336/337	Occupations in Sports & Recreation
41	Clerical and Related Occupations	411	Stenographic and Typing Occupations
		413	Bookkeeping, Account-recording & Related
		414	Office Machine & electronic Data Processing Equipment Op.
		415	Material Recording, Scheduling & Distributing
		416	Library, File & Correspondence Clerks
		417	Reception, Information, Mail & Message Distribution
		419	Other Clerical and Related Occupations
51	Sales Occupations	513/514	Sales Occupations, Commodities
		517	Sales Occupations, Service
		519	Other Sales Occupations
61	Service Occupations	611	Protective Service Occupations
		612/613	Food & Beverage Preparation/lLodging & other Accommodations
		614/616	Personal Services/Apparel & Furnishings Services
		619	Other Service Occupations

71	Farming, Horticulture & Animal Husbandry	711	Farmer
		718/719	Other Farming, Horticultural & Animal Husbandry
73	Fishing, Trapping	731	Fishing Trapping & Related Occupations
75	Forestry & Logging	751	Forestry & Logging Occupations
77	Mining, Quarrying	771	Mining, Quarrying, Oil & Gas field Occupations
81/82	Processing Occupations	811	Mineral Ore Treating Occupations
		813/814	Metal Processing & Related Occupations
		815	Clay, Glass & Stone Processing, & Forming
		816/817	Chemical, Petroleum, Rubber, Plastic & Related materials
		821/822	Food & Beverage Processing Occupations
		823	Wood Processing Occupations Except Pulp & Paper
		825	Pulp & Papermaking Occupations
		826/827	Textile Processing Occupations
		829	Other Processing Occupations
83	Machining And Related Occupations	831	Metal Machining
		833	Metal Shaping & Forming
		835	Wood Machining
		837	Clay, Glass, Stone Machining Occupations
		839	Other Machining and Related Occupations
85	Product Fabricating, Assembling & Repairing Occupations	851/852	Metals
		853	Electrical and Electronic & Related
		857	Rubber, Plastic and Related
		858	Mechanics and Repairers
		859	Other Related
87	Construction Trades Occupations	871	Excavating, Grading, Paving & Related
		873	Electrical Power, Communications Equip. Installing & repair
		878/879	Other Construction Trades
91	Transport Equipment Operating occupations	911	Air Transport Operating
		913	Railway Transport Operating
		915	Water Transport Operating
		917	Motor Transport Operating
		919	Other Transport Equipment Operating
93	Material Handling Occupations	931	Material Handling & Related Occupations
95	Other Crafts & Equipment Operating Occupations	951	Printing & Related
		953	Stationary Engine & Utilities Equipment Operating
		955	Electronic & Related Communications Equipment Operating
		959	Other Crafts & Equipment Operating
99	Other Occupations	991	Occupations not elsewhere classified
100	Persons Not Classifiable by Occupation	1	Workers Reporting Unidentifiable or Inadequately Described
		2	Workers not reporting any occupation
		3	Other persons

APPENDIX 2

Rossdale Residential Survey: December 1992

Please indicate your answers by a placing a check (√) mark in the box beside the appropriate answer and/or by writing your anwser in the space provided.

Q-1 How long have you lived(a) at your present dwelling? _____Years;
(b) in the Rossdale neighbourhood? _____Years.

Q-2 What was the Postal Code, Neighbourhood and City of your last place of residence?
Postal Code____ ____; **Neighbourhood**_____;
City _____; **Country** _____.

Q-3 Which category below best describes your **Household Type**?

- ☐ Single Adult;
- ☐ Single Adult & Child(ren);
- ☐ Two Adults;
- ☐ Two Adults & Child(ren);
- ☐ More Than Two Adults;
- ☐ More than Two Adults & Child(ren);
- ☐ Other (Explain)_____.

Q-4 Please write how many household members are in each of the following categories.

Categories	**Number of Household Members**
PreSchooler	_____
Kindergarten to Grade 6	_____
Junior & Senior High	_____
Homemaker	_____
Employed Full-Time	_____
Employed Part-Time	_____
Unemployed	_____
Retired	_____

Q-5 In the following table, please indicate the age and sex of each household member (Household Members are numbered from 1 to 8).

Household Member	**Age and Sex**
Number 1)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;
Number 2)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;
Number 3)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;
Number 4)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;
Number 5)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;
Number 6)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;
Number 7)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;
Number 8)	_____ yrs old, ☐ male / ☐ female;

Q-6 Level of **EDUCATION** is a measure of neighbourhood change. In the following table, please indicate the highest level of education attained by each household member **15 years of age and older**? (**Household Members** are Numbered from **1** to **8**)

Household Member Number	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**
Less Than Grade 9	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Grade 9 - 12 (no diploma)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
High School Graduate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Trade Certificate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other non-university	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
University No Degree	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
University Degree(s)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q-7 **INCOME** is another measure of neighbourhood change. Please indicate which group best describes your COMBINED household income?

PLEASE CHECK THE BOX THAT BEST REPRESENTS THE TOTAL INCOME OF ALL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS (EXCLUDING DEPENDENT CHILDREN)

☐ Less than $ 20,000
☐ $ 20,000 to $ 39,999
☐ $ 40,000 to $ 59,999
☐ $ 60,000 to $ 79,999
☐ $ 80,000 to $ 99,999
☐ Greater than $100,000

Q-8 What is(are) the **OCCUPATION(S)** of the household member(s) making up the combined household income indicated for **Question 7**? (**Household Members** are Numbered from **1** to **8**)

Household Member **Occupation (as necessary)**

Number 1. ....._____
Number 2. ....._____
Number 3. ....._____
Number 4. ....._____
Number 5. ....._____
Number 6. ....._____
Number 7. ....._____
Number 8. ....._____

Q-9 If you live in a House / Townhouse, please indicate whether it was built before or after 1986.

☐ Before 1986 ☐ After 1986

Q-10 Do you own or rent the dwelling you are living in? ☐ Own ☐ Rent

Q-11 If you are a home owner, how much was your 1992 property tax? $ _____

Q-12 If you rent, how much is your monthly rent? $_____

Q-13 People may have had many reasons for choosing to live in Rossdale. How important were the following to you? (Circle one number for each reason).

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important
1. Centrality (close to downtown).....	1	2	3	4
2. Proximity to the University.....	1	2	3	4
3. Access to Edmonton's Capital City Park	1	2	3	4
4. A Preference for Inner City versus Suburban Living	1	2	3	4
5. Environmental Amenity (River Valley Living).....	1	2	3	4
6. Neighbourhood Historical Status.....	1	2	3	4
7. Neighbourhood Safety.....	1	2	3	4
8. Neighbourhood Facilities (School, Church, etc...)	1	2	3	4
9. Sense of Community.....	1	2	3	4
10. Street Scape Design.....	1	2	3	4
11. Architectural Character of Housing.....	1	2	3	4
12. Affordable and Available Housing.....	1	2	3	4
13. A Financial Investment.....	1	2	3	4

Q-14 Using the reasons from **Question 13**, please indicate which, if any, were the most important to you personally for choosing to live in Rossdale. (Write numbers in boxes).

Most Important reason ☐

Second Most Important Reason ☐

Third Most Important Reason ☐

Q-15 Please State if you are in favour of the changes that have occurred in your neighbourhood. Why or why not?

Q-16 How would you like your neighbourhood to be changed?

Q-17 Please feel free to make any additional comments regarding Rossdale or its revitalization.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND PARTICIPATION

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